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# THE MONTH

*A Catholic Magazine.*

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DECEMBER, 1900.

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# THE MONTH.

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### *Coventry Patmore.*

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A BIOGRAPHER who has any other end in view, however secondary and incidental, than faithfully to reproduce in the mind of his readers his own apprehension of the personality of his subject, will be so far biassed in his task of selection; and, without any conscious deviation from truth, will give that undue prominence to certain features and aspects which in extreme cases may result in caricature. A Catholic biographer of Coventry Patmore would have been tempted to gratify the wish of a recent critic of Mr. Champneys' very efficient work,<sup>1</sup> and to devote ten times as much space as has been given to the account of his conversion, and a good deal, no doubt, to the discussion and correction of his eccentric views in certain ecclesiastical matters; thus giving us the history of an illustrious convert, and not that of a poet and seer whose conversion, however intimately connected with his poetical and intellectual life, was but an incident thereof. On the other hand, one less intelligently sympathetic with the more spiritual side of Catholicism than Mr. Champneys, would have lacked the principal key to the interpretation of Patmore's highest aims and ideals, towards which the whole growth and movement of his mind was ever tending, and by which its successive stages of evolution are to be explained. Again, with all possible respect for the feelings of the living, the biographer has wisely suppressed nothing needed to bring out truthfully the ruggednesses and irregularities that characterize the strong and somewhat one-sided development of genius as contrasted with the regular features and insipid perfectness of things wrought on a small scale. If idealizing means the filing-away of jagged edges—and surely it does not—Mr. Champneys has left us to do our own idealizing. The faults that marred Purcell's *Life of Manning* are here avoided, and yet truth is no whit the sufferer in consequence.

<sup>1</sup> *Coventry Patmore.* By Basil Champneys. Geo. Bell and Sons, 1900.  
VOL. XCVI. DECEMBER, 1900.

Surely too, with all deference to a contrary criticism lately offered, there is as much light thrown upon a man by the way in which others write to him, as by the way in which he writes to others; and the letters to Coventry Patmore are for this reason an invaluable addition to the biography, quite apart from the interest most of them derive from the personality of their illustrious writers. Had these letters to Patmore, as well as his own to others, been scattered through the text of the biography, there might have been reasonable objection to their bulky abundance, but as they are collected together in two chapters apart, they add to the completeness of the work without interfering with its form. For the rest, Mr. Champneys, with a self-suppression rare in biographers, has kept himself studiously in the dark and cared only to put his subject in the clearest and most colourless light possible.

In speaking of Patmore as a thinker and a poet, we do not mean to dissociate these two functions in his case, but only to classify him (according to his own category) with those "masculine" poets whose power lies in a beautiful utterance of the truth, rather than in a truthful utterance of the beautiful; whose chief gift is a sort of intellectual imagination, or imaginative intellect, by which a truth is seen so vividly and loved so strongly, that it bursts only into just those words and images that clothe it most beautifully and becomingly. Thus the beauty is subordinate and decorative, while the truth is the very substance and end of his best work. He would have held it somewhat of an insincerity to use the truth merely as subject-matter for the display of his decorative skill; and he left it to the "feminine" poets (as we can see from his estimate of Keats and Shelley) to make feelings, rather than felt realities, the theme of their art. It might be said that he made poesy ministerial to prophecy, without meaning however that he took himself so terribly seriously as some of his contemporaries, who seemed to have been laden down with the burden of their mission to mankind; for he held that to be a prig was "to be in a continual state of deadly sin." Still it became clear to him as he felt his way on, that he had one thing to say; and to the saying of it in the right way, everything else was subordinate. His complaint against the English poetry of the century, Coleridge and perhaps Wordsworth excepted, Tennyson scarcely excluded, is the thinness and indefiniteness of the matter dealt with and its subordination to what he calls "external polish;"

it is not polished because it is valuable in itself, but valued because susceptible of polish. In his view the main thing to attend to is what he calls "internal polish," which may be best described in words quoted from Joubert, by Matthew Arnold : "Lovers of light when they have an idea to put forth, brood long over it first, and wait patiently till it *shines*." The first words in which so vivid a conception spontaneously breaks forth will probably be the best, and will need little, if any, smoothing and adjustment. "When a work is spontaneous and springs ready-made from a creative mind," says (or quotes) Carlyle, "its parts are united by fusion, not by rivets or welding. It is like a living body, no juncture or art apparent." Thus too George Eliot makes Dinah Morris say : "Words were given me that came out as tears come, because our hearts are full, and we can't help it" —a helplessness very different from that of the fluent who are carried away by their words as straws on a stream ; and whose after-labour consists in fitting a meaning to them. Yet claiming to have "steadily maintained a literary conscience," Patmore considered no exterior polishing excessive, provided the substance were worth it. It is that, he writes to Allingham, that makes "all the difference between the beach pebble and the beautiful agate." "What do you think a fair day's work?" he asks another : "Four lines? I do." Still in point of outward finish, he is sensibly inferior, say to Tennyson, whose temptation was rather to sacrifice the strength of his song to its sweetness. He seems at times to trespass, more than the best taste would allow, on the licence permitted to a genius in dealing with the laws and conventions of his art ; to break through the bonds wantonly and not merely of necessity or because they make no provision for his superabundance.

We propose, however, to occupy ourselves with the matter rather than the mode of Patmore's utterance ; with that truth which he conceived himself to have apprehended in a newer and clearer light than others before him.

Lights are constantly breaking in upon me [he writes] and convincing me more and more that the singular luck has fallen to me of having to write, for the first time that any one even attempted to do so with any fulness, on simply the greatest and most exquisite subject that ever poet touched since the beginning of the world.

The more I consider the subject of the marriage of the Blessed Virgin, the more clearly I see that it is the *one* absolutely lovely and perfect subject for poetry. Perfect humanity, verging upon, but never

entering the breathless region of the Divinity, is the real subject of *all* true love-poetry ; but in all love-poetry hitherto, an "ideal" and not a reality has been the subject, more or less.

Taking the "Angel of the House" as representing the earlier, and the "Odes" the later stage of the development which this theme received under his hands, it seems as though he passes from the idealization and apotheosis of married love to the conception of it as being in its highest form, not merely the richest symbol, but even the most efficacious sacrament of the mystical union between God and the soul. He was well aware—though not fully at first—that these conceptions were familiar to St. Bernard and many a Catholic mystic ; it was for the poetic apprehension and expression of them that he claimed originality ; or, at least, for their unification and systematic development. "That his apprehensions were based generally—almost exclusively, on the fundamental idea of nuptial love must," as Mr. Champneys says, "be admitted." This was the governing category of his mind ; the mould into which all dualities naturally fell ; it was to his philosophy what love and hate, light and dark, form and matter, motion and atoms, have been to others.

It was, at all events, the predominance of this conception which bound together his whole life's work, rendering coherent and individualizing all which he thought, wrote, or uttered, and those who study Patmore without this key are little likely to understand him.

And it is the persistent and not always sufficiently restrained use of this category that made much of his writing just a trifle shocking to sensitive minds like Mr. de Vere's ; and unspeakably so to that class of excessively modest persons who look upon marriage as "a rather wicked sacrament."

These latter will have closed his works far too promptly to discover that far from gainsaying the Catholic instinct which prefers virginity to marriage (not a strictly accurate statement) he makes virginity a condition of the idealized marriage-relation, and finds its realization in her who was at once matron and virgin. Following the fragmentary hints to be found here and there in patristic and mystical theology, he assumes that virgin-spousals and virgin-birth were to have been the law in that Paradise from which man lapsed back into natural conditions through sin ; that in the case of the Blessed Virgin and

St. Joseph the paradisaic law was but resumed in this respect. Accordingly, he writes of Adam and Eve in "The Contract,"

Thus the first Eve  
With much enamoured Adam did enact  
Their mutual free contract  
Of virgin spousals, blissful beyond flight  
Of modern thought, with great intention staunch,  
Though unobliged until that binding pact.

To their infidelity to this contract he ascribes the subsequent degradation of human love through sensuality ; and all the sin and selfishness thence deriving to our fallen race :

Whom nothing succour can  
Until a heaven-caress'd and happier Eve  
Be joined with some glad Saint  
In like espousals, blessed upon Earth,  
And she her fruit forth bring ;  
No numb chill-hearted shaken-witted thing,  
'Plaining his little span,  
But of proud virgin joy the appropriate birth,  
The Son of God and Man.

The rationalistic objection to this suppression of what seems to be of the essence or integrity of matrimony is obvious enough, and yet finds many a retort even in the realm of nature, where the passage to a higher grade of life so often means the stultifying of functions proper to the lower. As to the pre-eminence of that state in which the spiritual excellencies of marriage and virginity are combined, Catholic teaching is quite clear and decided ; and it was a continual source of satisfaction to Patmore that in this, as in other points, his untaught intuitions, and instincts—his *mens naturaliter catholica*—had led him, whither the esoteric teaching of the Church had led only the more appreciatively sympathetic of her disciples, from time to time, as it were, up into that mountain of which St. Ambrose says : "See, how He goes up with the Apostles and comes down to the crowds. For how could the crowds see Christ save in a lowly spot ? They do not follow Him to the heights, nor rise to sublimities"—a notion altogether congenial to Patmore's aristocratic bias in religion as in everything else. Undoubtedly it was this mystical aspect of Catholic doctrine that appealed to his whole personality, offering as it did an authoritative approval, and suggesting an infinite realization, of those dreams that were so sacred to him. As far as the logic of the affections goes, it was for the sake of this that he held to all the rest ;

for indeed the deeper Catholic truths are so internetted that he who seizes one, drags all the rest along with it under pain of self-contradiction.

No one knew better than Patmore the infinite insufficiency of the highest created symbols to equal the eternal realities which it is their whole purpose to set forth; he fully realized that as the lowliest beginnings of created love seem to mock, rather than to foreshadow, the higher forms of which they are but the failure and botched essay, so the very highest conceivable, taken as more than a metaphor, were an irreverent parody of the Divine love for the human soul. It is not the *same* relationship on an indefinitely extended scale, but only a somewhat *similar* relationship, the limits of whose similarity are hidden in mystery. But when a man is so thoroughly in love with his metaphor as Patmore was, he is tempted at times to press it in every detail, and to forget that it is "but one acre in the infinite field of spiritual suggestion;" that, less full and perfect metaphors of the same reality, may supply some of its defects and correct some of its redundancies. We should do unwisely to think of the Kingdom of Heaven only as a kingdom, and not also as a marriage-feast, a net, a treasure, a mustard-seed, a field, and so forth, since each figure supplies some element lost in the others, and all together are nearer to the truth than any one: and so, although the married love of Mary and Joseph is the fullest revealed image of God's relation to the soul, we should narrow the range of our spiritual vision, were we to neglect those supplementary glimpses at the mystery afforded by other figures and shadowings.

And this leads us to the consideration of a difficulty connected with another point of Patmore's doctrine of divine love. He held that the idealized marriage relationship was not merely the symbol, but the most effectual sacrament and instrument of that love; "yet the world," he complains, "goes on talking, writing, and preaching as if there were some essential contrariety between the two," the disproof of which "was the inspiring idea at the heart of my long poem (the 'Angel')." Now, although in asserting that the most absorbing and exclusive form of human affection is not only compatible with, but even instrumental to the highest kind of sanctity and divine love, Patmore claimed to be at one, at least in principle, with some of the deeper utterances of the Saints and Fathers of the Christian Church; it cannot be denied that the assertion is

*prima facie* opposed to the common tradition of Catholic asceticism ; and to the apparent *raison d'être* of every sort of monastic institution.

It must be confessed that, in regard to the reconciliation of the claims of intense human affection with those of intense sanctity, there have been among religious teachers two distinct conceptions struggling for birth, often in one and the same mind, either of which taken as adequate must exclude the other. It would not be hard to quote the utterances of saints and ascetics for either view ; or to convict individual authorities of seeming self-contradiction in the matter. The reason of this is apparently that neither view is or can be adequate ; that one is weak where the other is strong ; that they are both imperfect analogies of a relationship that is unique and *sui generis*—the relationship between God and the soul. Hence neither hits the centre of truth, but glances aside, one at the right hand, the other at the left. Briefly, it is a question of the precise sense in which God is "a jealous God" and demands to be loved alone. The first and easier mode of conception is that which is implied in the commoner language of saints and ascetics—language perhaps consciously symbolic and defective in its first usage, but which has been inevitably literalised and hardened when taken upon the lips of the multitude. God is necessarily spoken of and imagined in terms of the creature, and when the analogical character of such expression slips from consciousness, as it does almost instantly, He is spoken, and therefore thought of as the First of Creatures competing with the rest for the love of man's heart. He is placed alongside of them in our imagination, not behind them or in them. Hence comes the inference that whatever love they win from us in their own right, by reason of their inherent goodness, is taken from Him. Even though He be loved better than all of them put together, yet He is not loved perfectly till He be loved alone. Their function is to raise and disappoint our desire time after time, till we be starved back to Him as to the sole-satisfying—everything else having proved *vanitas vanitatum*. Then indeed we go back to them, not for their own sakes, but for His ; not attracted by our love of them, but impelled by our love of Him.

This mode of imagining the truth, so as to explain the divine jealousy implied in the precept of loving God exclusively and supremely, is, for all its patent limitations, the most generally serviceable. Treated as a strict equation of thought



to fact, and pushed accordingly to its utmost logical consequences, it becomes a source of danger; but in fact it is not and will not be so treated by the majority of good Christians who serve God faithfully but without enthusiasm; whose devotion is mainly rational and but slightly affective; who do not conceive themselves called to the way of the Saints, or to offer God that all-absorbing affection which would necessitate the weakening or severing of natural ties. In the event, however, of such a call to perfect love, the logical and practical outcome of this mode of imagining the relation of God to creatures is a steady subtraction of the natural love bestowed upon friends and relations, that the energy thus economized may be transferred to God. This concentration may indeed be justified on other and independent grounds; but the implied supposition that, the highest sanctity is incompatible with any pure and well-ordered natural affection, however intense, is certainly ill-sounding, and hardly reconcilable with the divinest examples and precepts.

The limitations of this simpler and more practical mode of imagining the matter are to some extent supplemented by that other mode for which Patmore found so much authority in St. Bernard, St. Francis, St. Teresa, and many another, and which he perhaps too readily regarded as exhaustively satisfactory. In this conception, God is placed, not alongside of creatures, but behind them, as the light which shines through a crystal and lends it whatever it has of lustre. In recognizing whatever true brilliancy or beauty creatures possess as due to His inbiding presence, the love which they excite in us passes on to Him, through them. As He is the primary Agent and Mover in all our action and movement, the primary Lover in all our pure and well-ordered love; and we, but instruments of His action, movement, and love; so, in whatever we love rightly and divinely for its true merit and divinity, it is He who is ultimately loved. Thus in all pure and well-ordered affection it is, ultimately, God who loves and God who is loved; it is God returning to Himself, the One to the One. According to this imagery, God is viewed as the First Efficient and the ultimate Final Cause in a circular chain of causes and effects of which He is at once the first link and the last—a conception which, in so far as it brings God inside the system of nature as part thereof, is, like the last, only analogously true, and may not be pressed too far in its consequences.



In this view, to love God supremely and exclusively means practically, to love only the best things in the best way, recognizing God both in the affection and in its object. God is not loved apart from creatures, or beside them; but through them and in them. Hence if only the affection be of the right kind as to mode and object, the more the better; nor can there be any question of crowding other affections into a corner in order to make more room for the love of God in our hearts. The love of Him is the "form," the principle of order and harmony; our natural affections are the "matter," harmonized and set in order; it is the soul, they are the body, of that one Divine Love whose adequate object is God in, and not apart from, His creatures.

It would not perhaps be hard to reconcile this view with some utterances in the Gospel of seemingly opposite import; or to find it often implied in the words and actions of Catholic Saints; but to square it with the general ascetic traditions of the faithful at large is exceedingly difficult. Patmore would no doubt have allowed the expediency of celibacy in the case of men and women devoted to the direct ministry of good works, spiritual and corporal;—a devotion incompatible with domestic cares; he could and did allow the superiority of voluntary virginity and absolute chastity over the contrary state of lawful use; but he could hardly have justified—hardly not have condemned those who leave father, friend, or spouse, not merely externally in order to be free for good works, but internally in order that their hearts may be free for the contemplation and love of God viewed apart from creatures and not merely in them. He might perhaps say that, as we cannot go to God through all creatures, but only through some (since we are not each in contact with all), we must select according to our circumstances those which will give the greatest expansion and elevation to our natural affections; and that for some, the home is wisely sacrificed for the community or the church. Yet this hardly consists with the pre-eminence he gives to married love as the nearest symbol and sacrament of divine.

Both these modes of imagining the truth, whatever their inconveniences, are helpful as imperfect formulations of Catholic instinct; both mischievous, if viewed as adequate and close-fitting explanations. Patmore was characteristically enthusiastic for his own aspect of the truth; and characteristically impatient of the other. Thus, of à Kempis he says:

There is much that is quite unfit for, and untrue of, people who live in the ordinary relations of life. I don't think I like the book quite so much as I did. There is a hot-house, egotistical air about much of its piety. Other persons are, ordinarily, the appointed means of learning the love of God; and to stifle human affections must be very often to render the love of God impossible.

In other words, the further he pushed the one conception the further he diverged from a Kempis, whose asceticism was built almost purely on the other.

Most probably a reconciliation of these two conceptions will be found in a clear recognition of the two modes in which God is apprehended and consequently loved by the human mind and heart; the one concrete and experimental, accessible to the simplest and least cultured, and of necessity for all; the other, abstract in a sense—a knowledge through the ideas and representations of the mind, demanding a certain degree of intelligence and studious contemplation, and therefore not necessary, at least in any high degree, for all. The difference is like that between the knowledge of salt as tasted in solution and the knowledge of it as seen apart in its crystallized state; or between the knowledge and love of a musical composer as known in his compositions, and as known in himself, from his compositions. The latter needs an uncommon power of inference which the most sympathetic musical expert may entirely lack.

Of these two approaches to Divine love and union, the former is certainly compatible with, and conducive to, the unlimited fulness of every well-ordered natural affection; but the latter—a life of more conscious, reflex, and actual attention to God—undoubtedly does require a certain abstraction and concentration of our limited spiritual energies, and can only be trodden at the cost of a certain inward seclusion of which outward seclusion is normally a condition. Instinctively, Catholic tradition has regarded it as a vocation apart—as, like the life of continence, a call to something more than human and demanding a sacrifice or atrophy of functions proper to another grade of spirituality. Even what is called a "life of thought" makes a similar demand to a great extent; it involves a narrowing of other interests; a departure from the conditions of ordinary practical life. The "contemplative life" is inclusively all this and more; it is a sort of anticipation of the future life of vision. Still, though for a few it may be the surest or the only approach to sanctity, yet there is no degree of Divine love that may not

be reached by the commoner and normal path. One could hardly offend the first principles of the Gospel more grievously than by making intelligence, culture, and contemplative capacity conditions of a nearer approach to Christ.

It seems to us then that Patmore failed to get at the root of the neglected truth after which he was groping, and thereby fell into a one-sidedness not so hurtful but just as real as that against which his chief work was a revolt and protest.

As a convert, Patmore is most uninteresting to the controversialist. His mind was altogether concrete, affirmative, and synthetic, with a profound distrust of abstract and analytical reasoning. As we have said, Christianity and, later, Catholicism appealed profoundly to his intellectual imagination in virtue of some of their deeper tenets, for whose sake he took over all the rest *per modum unius*.

The idea [of the Incarnation] no sooner flashed upon me as a possible reality than it became, what it has ever since remained, . . . the only reality worth seriously caring for ; a reality so clearly seen and possessed that the most irrefragable logic of disproof has always affected me as something trifling and irrelevant.

Again : "Christianity is not an 'historical religion,' but a revelation which is renewed in every receiver of it." "My heart loves that of whose existence my intellect allows the probability, and my will puts the seal to the blessed compact which produces faith"—an ingenious application of his favourite category.

Of the efforts of Manning and de Vere to proselytize him, he says :

Their position seemed to me to be so logically perfect that I was long repelled by its perfection. I felt, half unconsciously, that a living thing ought not to be so spick and span in its external evidence for itself, and that what I wanted for conviction was not the sight of a faultless intellectual superficies, but the touch and pressure of a moral solid.

This is all most consistent with his saying that "the devil is the only being purely reasoning and analytic, and *therefore* is the devil." Elsewhere : "We are quite of one mind in hating everything 'abstract'—abstract virtue, abstract truth, and all other abstractions which are the delight of philosophers, and, I believe, of the devils." The collocation of these few extracts will perhaps suffice to explain why Mr. Champneys had so little to say about the controversial agonies of Patmore's conversion ; and why we have confined ourselves to the study of those ideas

which were the central interest of his life and which made him, before all else, the poet of Divine love.

Whatever some may think or have thought of his theology, none who knew him could have any doubt as to the robust and uncompromising character of his faith. It was because he felt so sure of his footing that he allowed himself a liberty of movement perplexing to those whose position was one of more delicate balance. He had a ruthlessness in tossing aside what might be called "non-essentials," that was dictated not so much by an under-estimate of their due importance, as by an impatience with those who over-estimated them, confounding the vessel with its contained treasure.

When he says: "I believe in Christianity as it will be ten thousand years hence," it would be a grave misinterpretation to suppose that he implied any lack of belief in the Christianity of to-day. It is but another assertion of his claim to be in sympathy with the esoteric rather than the exoteric teaching of the present; to be on the mount with the few and not on the plain with the many. For as the glacier formed on the mountain slips slowly down to the plain, so, he held, the esoteric teaching of to-day will be the popular teaching of future ages. However little we may relish this distinction between "aristocratic" and vulgar belief; however strongly we may hold that best knowledge of God—that, namely, which is experimental and tactual rather than intellectual or imaginative—is equally accessible to all; yet just so far as there is question of the intellectual and imaginative forms in which the faith is apprehended, the distinction does and must exist, not only in religion but in every department of belief, as long as there are different levels of culture in the same body of believers. It is, after all, a much more superficial difference than it sounds—a difference of language and symbolism for the same realities. Where language fits close, as it does to things measurable by our senses, divergency makes the difference between truth and error; but where it is question of the substitution of one analogy or symbol for another, the more elegant is not necessarily the more truthful; nor when we consider the infinite inadequacy of even the noblest conceivable finite symbolism to bring God down to our level, need we pride ourselves much for being on a mountain whose height is perceptible from the plain but imperceptible from the heavens.

Hence to say that the distinction between esoteric and

exoteric teaching means that the Church has two creeds, one for the simple, another for the educated, is a thoughtless criticism which overlooks the necessarily symbolic nature of all language concerning the "eternities," and confounds a different mode of expression with a difference of the facts and realities expressed.

Matthew Arnold, too, believed in the Catholicism of the future ; but in how different a sense ! What he hoped for was, roughly speaking, the preservation of the ancient and beautiful husk after the kernel had been withered up and discarded ; what Patmore looked forward to was the expansion of the kernel bursting one involucre after another, and ever clamouring for fairer and more adequate covering. With one, the language of religion was all too wide ; with the other, all too narrow, for its real signification. Arnold belongs to the first, Patmore to the last of those three stages of religious thought of which Mr. Champneys writes :

The first is represented by those whose creed is so simple as to afford little or no ground for contention ; the second by such as in their search for greater precision enlarge the domain of dogma, but fail to pass beyond its mere technical aspect ; the third consists of those who rise from the technical to the spiritual, and without repudiating or disparaging dogma, use it mainly as a guide and support to thought which transcends mere definition.

G. TYRRELL.

### *Some Features of the Paris Exhibition.*

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To give a full and complete description of the Paris Exhibition within the limits of a single article would be a task as impossible as it would have been, a month ago, to explore the Great Show in the space of forty-eight hours.

The first impression of the visitor to the World's Fair was generally a bewildering sense of its magnitude. It covered so large a space, extending as it did from the heights of the Trocadero over the plain of the Champ de Mars to the time-honoured Invalides, that a considerable time was required merely to get from one spot to another, in spite of the means of communication that were devised for the convenience of visitors. Besides the famous moving platform, whose popularity was short-lived, there was the electric railway, to say nothing of the arm-chairs, *fauteuils roulants*, which men, as well as women, used largely.

When once the sense of overpowering size was got over, the visitor with sufficient leisure before him, might find much to enjoy and much to learn in the Paris Exhibition. Certain features of the Great Show proved complete failures; the so-called "attractions" were commonplace and expensive when not coarse and vulgar; it is no wonder that most of them were bankrupt before the close of the Exhibition. But apart from these sights, shows, and theatres, the World's Fair presented aspects that were calculated to improve the visitor's artistic taste, stimulate his ideas, and awaken in the student of history reminiscences, dramatic or pathetic as the case might be. This was, in a certain measure, due to the fact that the artistic and historical treasures of the past were given a prominent place in every department. Without wishing to minimize the value and interest of modern improvements and inventions, we confess that the relics of bygone ages, so largely represented at the Exhibition, were to us peculiarly fascinating.

When, for instance, can any of us hope to see again, gathered together under the same roof, treasures such as those

of the *Petit Palais*? The Palace itself reminds one of Trianon, and is one of the few buildings that remain standing after the Exhibition of 1900 is past and gone. French art at its best, and at almost every epoch of its history, was here largely represented. The churches and cathedrals of the land generously lent their treasures: jewelled shrines, and massive church plate, enamels and wood carvings, ivory triptychs, delicate as lace, all either quaintly curious or marvellously beautiful. Upon the walls hung priceless tapestries, lent by the national *garde meuble*, many of which still bore the golden *fleurs de lys* and had doubtless figured in the pageants of Versailles, in the days of the *Roi Soleil*. Then, under glass cases, were collections of fans, miniatures, watches, card-cases, contributed by private individuals, dainty and delicate trifles that bear the impress of the frivolous and pleasure-loving eighteenth century.

The furniture had the same character of refined, artistic beauty: chests, cabinets, tables of inlaid wood, were ornamented with exquisite bronze or gilt garlands, the work of Riesener, Gouthière, and other famous artists of the reigns of Louis XV. and Louis XVI. One of the most prominent objects in this department was Marie Antoinette's cabinet, a marvellous combination of inlaid wood, mother-of-pearl, gilt and bronze, in which the unhappy Queen kept her jewels. It is less chaste in style than some of the cabinets of the same period, but the memory of its owner invests it with pathetic interest. Mark of rough usage are visible here and there, some of the panels are broken and the delicate mother-of-pearl has been cruelly injured. These traces of violence have a fearful significance to those who remember how the ill-fated Sovereign's long agony began on the day when the infuriated Paris mob invaded the palace of Versailles and was only prevented from killing the Queen by the noble self-sacrifice of her body-guards who let themselves be stabbed to death on the threshold of her apartments.

Other thoughts were awakened by the collection of church plate; in the mediæval reliquaries and jewel-studded chalices we read unspoken histories of renunciation; men worked more slowly than they do in our feverish times, but their work was more thorough, and it seemed to them natural and simple to give to God the best of their time as well as the best of their worldly possessions.



To many visitors the *Petit Palais* was the crowning glory of the Exhibition, but in a less striking manner the retrospective feature of the Great Show was carried out in each one of its different departments. Even among the ribbons, by the side of the delicately tinted and artistically designed ribbons of to-day, were the stiff and gaudy ribbons of fifty years ago, and very hideous they look to us now ! In the carriage department also, the past and present were side by side in curious contrast ; close to the most up-to-date motor-car stood the daintily painted sedan-chairs which the great ladies of the old *régime* were accustomed to use. Some of these chairs were pure works of art, delicately carved and ornamented with exquisite paintings ; many were lent to the Exhibition by the direct descendants of the powdered dames of the eighteenth century. Remembering the terrible upheaving that brought the old *régime* to an abrupt and bloody close, we wondered, as we gazed on the faded linings, how many of the lovely heads that once reclined against the worn velvet or damask, fell under the cruel knife of the guillotine !

Again among the toys we were met by the same contrasts. Modern playthings, both French and foreign, were to be seen in profusion. The quaint Nuremberg toys occupied a whole room in the German department of the *Palais des Invalides* : a splendid Father Christmas, distributing his gifts, formed the centre of a varied group of figures, with a truly German background of pine-forests and snow-capped hills. Less *naïve* and more elegant were the Parisian dolls, ladies of the great world, in their up-to-date attire. Then further away, just beyond this array of brilliant objects almost too elegant for common use, were the battered and faded toys hugged by tiny arms more than a century ago. Shabby dolls in well-worn silk dresses, miniature coaches driven by powdered coachmen, little chests and beds, daintily carved by the able workmen of the eighteenth century, and among these relics which were lovingly handled by the babies of the old *régime*, several historical objects : a toy kitchen with figures in Dresden china belonged to Louis XVI. when a child ; a game of dominoes, mother-of-pearl and ebony, to the little King of Rome.

A few steps only from the toys, in the same wing of the palace, was the furniture department, and here again the past and the present were to be seen together, awakening different



thoughts and emotions: the present speaking to us of the progress of taste and industry of which it is right and natural to feel proud; the past telling pathetic histories of vanished glory or pain. The *Musée centennal du meuble* was a singularly happy idea, well and carefully carried out. A series of rooms had been arranged, each one presenting as perfect a specimen as possible of the style of one particular epoch. All the tables, chests, mirrors, pictures used for the purpose having been lent by private persons, and being generally excellent of their kind. Among the contributors, the sons of the late President Carnot were conspicuous as possessing an unusually large quantity of objects belonging to the revolutionary period.

Thus we were shown a *salon* of the time of Louis XVI., with its refined elegance and grace; a room of the revolutionary period, where the bed is arranged so as to present the three republican colours; rooms belonging to the *Directoire* and Empire style, when straight lines and classical emblems were the order of the day. Then came rooms of the Louis Philippe period and of the Second Empire, heavy, tasteless, and showy; making us rejoice at the happy freak of fashion that has brought back to the front the more graceful forms of a hundred years ago.

After the treasures of the past exhibited by France, we must mention those lent to the Exhibition by foreign nations. Great Britain's splendid collection of pictures by Turner, Constable, Gainsborough, Reynolds, Romney, and Hopner, excited well-deserved admiration; so did the marvellous tapestries lent by the Spanish Government. In some of these, a blending of gold thread with the wool produced an effect soft yet brilliant that is worth noting. Many of these tapestries belonged to Charles V., who inherited them from his mother the hapless Juana, and so attached was he to these heirlooms that he carried them to his retreat at Yuste. In the German pavilion were to be seen the French pictures that were hung in Frederick the Great's study at Potsdam; the dainty paintings of Watteau and Pater, with their frivolous grace and delicate finish, contrasting with the somewhat massive German fittings of the apartment. Hungary displayed a magnificent array of church plate: chalices and crosses blazing with uncut jewels; mitres whose tissue was formed of gold and seed-pearls, the whole having a decided character of Eastern splendour.

Another feature of the Exhibition to which attention has not

been sufficiently drawn were its religious aspects. These, it must be confessed, were not prominently brought before us, and the French Catholics were reasonably distressed when the Exhibition was officially opened on Holy Saturday, 1900, without the slightest reference being made to God or to His Church. Nevertheless, the Church and her interests were duly represented at the World's Fair, and it needed but a little time and attention to discover how and where.

On the heights of the Trocadero, a few steps only from the Algerian and Tunisian pavilions, stood a building bearing on its front the inscription : *Pavillon des Missions catholiques*, and a French writer has rightly noticed that those who entered it stepped more softly, spoke in hushed tones, and seemed instinctively to realize that they were surrounded by hallowed memories of heroism and holiness. The first objects on view were groups of life-sized figures representing different phases of missionary life : Sisters of Charity at Madagascar, Jesuit apostles in Canada, Franciscan nuns and their leper patients at Mandalay. Then, on the first floor, in glass cases, were the different exhibits of the Catholic missions throughout the world : photographs representing the missionaries at work, their churches and schools ; pictures, books and maps printed by them, specimens of the handicraft of their neophytes. A large portrait of Mgr. Favier, the Lazarist Bishop of Pekin, attracted much attention during the long weeks of suspense last summer, when the fate of the brave prelate was still uncertain. Another object of interest was the corporal used by Father Damien when he carried the Holy Viaticum to his dying lepers ; it stirred in the hearts of the Catholic visitor a thrill of admiration for the Belgian priest, who so simply went to meet a loathsome and certain death. The sight of the wonders wrought by human industry and talent excite feelings of well-deserved pride and pleasure, but a visit to the Pavilion of Foreign Missions touched deeper and nobler chords, and as we passed from one glass case to another, visions rose before our mind's eye, visions of long years of patient labour under cloudless tropical skies, crowned by a short, sharp conflict and the martyr's palm. This impression was intensified by the sight of the portraits lent to the Exhibition by the *Société des Missions étrangères*, that venerable seminary to whose pupils we might say, as St. Philip Neri to the young English students in Rome : *Salvete flores martyrum*.

Among these portraits was that of a fair-haired young priest, Just de Bretenières, whose memory is still fresh in the minds of those who knew him. He was born in 1838 of a noble family in Burgundy, and was brought up by his parents with a care and self-devotion, such as is less uncommon in modern French homes than a superficial observer might believe. When he was only six years old a mysterious foreshadowing of his future destiny came to him. He was playing in the garden of his parents' house at Dijon and digging a large hole ; suddenly he called to his younger brother : " Do you not hear and see those men, dressed like Chinese, who are calling to me to come and save them," and he pointed to the hole and listened attentively. Christian, the other boy, neither heard nor saw anything, but Just continued to repeat : " I must go and save them." In after-years, without seeking to explain this curious incident, he invariably vouched for its truth. In 1861, Just entered the Seminary of the Foreign Missions in the Rue du Bac ; his parents' generosity equalled his own, and they ungrudgingly gave up their first-born son. On the 21st of May, 1864, he was ordained ; then appointed to the mission of Corea, and just two months later, on July 15th, his parents and brother came to bid him farewell. According to an ancient custom on the day of their departure the future missionaries, after assisting at Benediction in the Seminary chapel, stand on the altar-steps, where all the men present, including the priests and students of the community, kneel and kiss their feet, while the touchingly appropriate words *Quam speciosi pedes evangelizantium pacem* are sung by the choir.

Just's radiant countenance during this impressive scene, is still remembered by many ; his brother went up with the rest and kissed his feet, while his father and mother, kneeling in a tribune overlooking the chapel, recited the *Te Deum* with full hearts.

A little more than two years later the same glorious hymn was to burst from their quivering lips under circumstances still more pathetic. After devoting himself to his missionary duties heart and soul for two years, Just was arrested, together with Mgr. Berneux, his Bishop, and several other priests. After enduring many cruel tortures with unswerving constancy, the young priest, the venerable prelate, and eight other missionaries were beheaded amidst circumstances of peculiar horror. Monsieur and Madame de Bretenières were aware that persecution

was raging in Corea, but so far the newspapers had mentioned no names, and though their anxiety was great, they clung to the hope that their son was safe. On a September day, in 1866, the Bishop of Dijon, Mgr. Rivet, proceeded to the old *hôtel* where Just's parents were living, and, very gently and tenderly, he told them all: the devoted life, bitter sufferings, holy patience, and heroic death of their child. At first, the poor mother seemed stunned: she sat dumb and motionless, thinking more of her boy's tortures than of his glorious reward. Then, with a brave effort, worthy of a martyr's mother, she fell on her knees, and the three, the venerable Bishop and the bereaved parents, recited aloud a *Te Deum* of thanksgiving.

This is but one among the many memories that were evoked by a visit to the *Pavillon des missions catholiques*; but in a different part of the Exhibition, under a less picturesque and striking form, we found ourselves again face to face with the interests of the Church and the work of her children. At the corner of the Pont de l'Alma, rose a large white building, the *Palais des Congrès*. Within, its walls were covered with statistical summaries, giving an account of the philanthropic and charitable institutions of France and other countries.

At first, the visitor felt bewildered rather than captivated by the number of institutions, guilds, societies, schools, asylums, &c., to which his attention was drawn, but, by degrees, the Catholic tourist realized, with filial pride, that the Church was here worthily represented. It is true that strange contrasts met his eye, but if he was pained and shocked at the account of a society founded for the express purpose of reducing marriage to a mere civil contract, he noted close by that the *Grand Prix* had been awarded by the jury to the devoted sons of Blessed John Baptist de la Salle, the popular "Christian Brothers," to whom generations of children of the people owe their Christian training. And again, just beyond, his eye rested on a list of the 188 "Patronages" that exist in Paris.

Those who have seen something of this most useful work, know what a powerful instrument for good it is in great cities! How the apprentice and workman, who frequent the "Patronages," find religious help and support from those who direct them, as well as ready sympathy and wise counsel in dark and difficult hours! They know too how much quiet self-sacrifice the work entails upon the young men—gentlemen, students, clerks—who every Sunday leave their comfortable

homes to help or even amuse their less fortunate brethren. Then, again, the visitor might admire how the innumerable schools and asylums belonging to the Sisters of Charity and other Religious won just recognition at the hands of the jury, and surely never were the *médailles d'or* more fitly bestowed than on these devoted women. Upon other social and philanthropic institutions, such as those established by the Harmels and other Catholic manufacturers, the Church has also set her seal and blessing.

If the statistics and summaries that covered the walls of the *Palais des Congrès* presented at the outset an almost forbidding appearance to the uninitiated tourist, it required very little effort on his part to grasp the fact that these barren lists of figures meant, in many cases, a sweet and plentiful harvest of good deeds, gathered by angel hands and laid before God's throne, and that, although officially absent from the Great Show, the Catholic Church had nevertheless an honourable and well-defined place in what is, in the opinion of many, the last Paris Exhibition.

BARBARA DE COURSON.

### *Cardinal Pole, Legate and Primate.*

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PROBABLY most readers of THE MONTH are more or less acquainted with the events which culminated in the historic scene at Whitehall on November 30th, the feast of St. Andrew, A.D. 1554, when in the presence of his Sovereign and King Philip, of the English Hierarchy, and both Houses of Parliament, the saintly and illustrious Cardinal Pole, himself—as the son of the Blessed Margaret Pole, the martyred Countess of Salisbury—being the last of the Plantagenets, and destined to be the last Catholic Archbishop of Canterbury—as Legate *a latere* of Pope Julius III. was enabled to fulfil the dream and work of a lifetime by reconciling his beloved England to the Unity of Holy Church and to the Roman Obedience.

This eventful submission of an entire nation had not been obtained without numerous difficulties and long delays—indeed, it is perhaps doubtful whether it would ever have been accomplished if Cardinal Pole had not been its instrument. In the morning, King Philip with the Court, and perhaps the Cardinal too, attended a Pontifical High Mass of the Holy Ghost in Westminster Abbey, at which the magnificent robes of the English Knights of the Garter and of the Spanish Knights of the Golden Fleece were very conspicuous. Probably there were special services that morning all over the country, but the actual Reunion took place in the afternoon, and a description of that oft-described momentous scene need not be given here. After the ceremony the whole assemblage proceeded to the adjacent Chapel Royal, where prayers and the *Te Deum* were chanted in thanksgiving to Almighty God.

Cardinal Pole immediately afterwards wrote a short account announcing the joyful news to the Sovereign Pontiff—

. . . To-day at vespertide, on which day St. Andrew that memory of the apostle is venerated, who first brought Peter his brother to Christ, by Divine Providence it has been ordained that this realm should be recalled to the due obedience owed to the See of Peter and to your

Holiness, so that by that obedience it should be united to Christ the Head and to His Body, which is the Church. . . . [signing himself] Humillimus Servus, REG. CARDINALIS POLUS.<sup>1</sup>

The schism had only lasted twenty years, and England was thus the first nation to abandon the Reformation. Upon receipt of this happy intelligence, which by Papal command was announced in open Consistory, there was great jubilation in Rome. The Holy Father himself sang a solemn Mass of thanksgiving in St. Peter's—the new and still unfinished basilica—and moreover proclaimed a Jubilee Indulgence, while there were public processions through the city and other celebrations.<sup>2</sup>

Further, upon Advent Sunday, the Cardinal Legate visited London in state by invitation of the Mayor and Corporation, in order to be present in St. Paul's Cathedral at the public popular Thanksgiving Service for the recent reconciliation. King Philip and most of the Bishops of England and Wales were present and High Mass, at which probably the Bishop of London (Dr. Bonner) pontificated, was sung with all the splendour of the Sarum Rite. The Lord Chancellor, Dr. Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, afterwards preached a very remarkable sermon outside the Cathedral at Paul's Cross, taking his text from the Epistle of the day, "It is now the hour for us to rise from sleep." He touchingly confessed his own share in the national guilt of schism, but recalled with joy that now "the night is passed and the day is at hand." Doubtless the *Te Deum* was sung and the Legatine Blessing solemnly bestowed by Cardinal Pole, vested in the crimson *cappa magna* as a Prince of the Church. Upon leaving the City's historic and splendid Gothic Cathedral, with its long nave and soaring spire, he was greeted with enthusiasm as he passed along the narrow, crowded streets of old London on the way to his state barge—for the silver Thames was then the main thoroughfare of the metropolis.

On December 6th, the Cardinal received both Houses of Convocation at Lambeth, and there absolved them from all their past offences, adding both congratulation and exhortation with regard to their flocks; later, upon the petition of both Parliament and the Lower House, he issued—probably not with pleasure—a Legatine decree confirming the lay possession of the plundered Church lands, but at the same time imploring all who

<sup>1</sup> Wilkins' *Concilia*, iv. 110, 111. I also found a reference to it in the Vatican Archives.

<sup>2</sup> Pallavicini, *Histoire du Concile de Trent*, bk. xiii. cap. ix. p. 754.



could do so to restore the same to God's service. An Act of Parliament<sup>1</sup> was now passed—*after* the reconciliation—repealing all the anti-Papal legislation of Henry VIII., including the famous and infamous Act of Supremacy, but at the same time once more safeguarding the sacrilegious abbey spoils with *præmunire* penalties. The perhaps unavoidable delay in this matter was probably the reason why Pole and the English Embassy later on specially requested the Pope to confirm and ratify the Legatine transactions.

Upon January 25th, the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul (the Patron Saint of the Cathedral), there was a solemn and magnificent Procession of the Blessed Sacrament through the city of London, in thanksgiving for the corporate conversion of a whole nation, with countless crosses, banners, and torches, and with nearly two hundred priests in copes, eight bishops, and finally the Ordinary (Bishop Bonner), carrying the Host in a pyx under a canopy, followed by the Mayor and Aldermen, the City Guilds, and hundreds of laity, singing the *Salve festa dies*.

At the subsequent High Mass in St. Paul's both King Philip and Cardinal Pole were again present; the bells pealed merrily from every steeple and at night bonfires were lighted, while, in pursuance of the unprecedented toleration which the new Queen had already displayed, many poor prisoners were released from the Tower.

Then, upon Lady Day, 1555, the special Papal Envoy, Mgr Agustini, presented Queen Mary with the Golden Rose and King Philip with the Sword and Cap, together with a Brief of praise and esteem from His Holiness, in the private chapel at St. James' Palace. Cardinal Pole was of course present at this interesting little ceremony, but shortly afterwards, in company with Bishop Gardiner and other peers, left for France in order to try and effect another reconciliation, viz., between the French King and the Emperor, which had also been constituted part of his Legatine commission.

It was about this time—upon the death of Pope Julius III., shortly followed by the premature decease of a Pontiff of great promise, Marcellus II.—that the Cardinal of England was once more nearly given those Keys which only one Englishman has ever held (Pope Adrian IV.). Indeed, if Pole had proceeded to Rome for the Conclave, he would probably have been again elected Pope, and would this time not have escaped the Supreme

<sup>1</sup> 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, c. 8.



Pontificate. His election was advocated by the King of France, the Queen of England, and King Philip—if not by the Emperor Charles V. too—and he was distinctly considered a *papabile* in Rome itself. But the modest and extraordinarily unambitious Cardinal Pole had no idea of interrupting the peace negotiations for so personal a purpose, and the consequence was that, unfortunately for him and for many others, Cardinal Caraffa ascended the throne of Peter as Pope Paul IV. Moreover, after all, the negotiations failed, and so Pole returned to England. It is interesting to note, from an unpublished manuscript now in the Cathedral library, that he spent the feast of Corpus Christi at Canterbury on his way home, and took part in the Processions of the Blessed Sacrament in the Cathedral that day and also through the city on the following Sunday, together with the Canons and other clergy, the Mayor and Corporation, his household, and large numbers of the faithful laity; further we here learn that he even paid part of the expenses.

Meanwhile the English Embassy had been received at Rome by Paul IV. in his first Consistory; the Holy Father granted all their requests and paid a special tribute to the merits and orthodoxy of Cardinal Pole.

The latter had of course been frequently employed rectifying the mischief caused by the use of the new and defective Anglican Ordinal, a copy of which had been brought by the envoys to Rome for examination. Consequently Pope Paul IV. issued on June 20th, 1555, the Bull *Præclara charissimi*, and on October 30th a Brief, at Pole's request, enjoining *inter alia* the absolute reordination of those who had been ordained not according to "the form of the Church"—that is to say, as we know the Cardinal interpreted it, by the Edwardine or Anglican Ordinal, which was not rectified until too late, during the Caroline restoration.

Cardinal Pole now proceeded with the second important object of his Legatine mission to England, and that was the much needed reform in the ancient English Church. Accordingly, armed with the Queen's warrant under the Great Seal—remembering *præmunire* penalties and Wolsey's fate—he convened the National Legatine Synod of Westminster, which was formed of both Houses of Convocation sitting in one assembly. It was opened by Solemn Mass of the Holy Ghost, sung by the Bishop of London in the Chapel Royal, and the sessions were held in the great hall of St. James's Palace, so

as to be near the ailing Queen and the dying Bishop of Winchester.

This important Synod has been most strangely neglected by historians, perhaps because its chief work seems to have been the endorsement of Cardinal Pole's famous Legatine Decrees for the reform of England and Wales, but these, too, have not received anything like the attention they deserve. Apparently the Legate had already obtained Papal sanction for their promulgation, and he now ordered the Bishops to publish them in their respective dioceses.

In the preamble of this document Pole stated how, in order "that this Church of England, which from the misfortune of the past schism has been very much deformed both in doctrine and practice, may be formed again on the model of the ancient Fathers and of the sacred Canons," he, in obedience to Pope Paul IV. and "following the examples of Otho of blessed memory,<sup>1</sup> and of Othobon,<sup>2</sup> and of other Legates of the Holy Apostolic See in this country, our predecessors, have, by the Apostolic authority granted to us in this legation which we are discharging, called together and held the assembly of Bishops and other clergy of this realm, who have been accustomed to take part in the Provincial Synods, either of right or from usage," including of course the elected representatives of the lower or parochial clergy called proctors.

In the first decree Pole recounted how the late national troubles had arisen—

From this source, that departing from the unity and doctrine of the faith of the Catholic Church, we have left the authority and obedience of the Roman Pontiff, the Vicar of Christ and the successor of Peter, for whose faith that it might not fail Christ Himself prayed.<sup>3</sup>

Therefore, in thanksgiving for God's mercies and for the recent reconciliation, a special collect is enjoined, save upon Greater Doubles, at daily Mass, and a solemn procession or an appropriate homily is ordered "during the solemnities of Masses" throughout the realm every year on the anniversary of the Reunion, the festival of St. Andrew.

The second decree safeguarded the Canon Law and took precautions against the publication or importation of heretical literature—

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 1237.

<sup>2</sup> A.D. 1268.

<sup>3</sup> It is instructive to note how Cardinal Pole, both here and elsewhere in these decrees, implicitly teaches the doctrine of Papal infallibility which was explicitly defined at the General Council of the Vatican in A.D. 1870.

We, therefore, with the approbation of the same Synod, replace and restore to their ancient rank, force, and usage, in which they flourished before the schism, all the decrees of the Holy Councils, as well of General ones as those of Provincial Councils, that have been received by the Apostolic See, as also the enactments of the Roman Pontiffs. . . .

The *imprimatur* of either Rome or the Ordinary is to be required for all religious books, and—

That the people may know, when all the errors of former times have been got rid of, what doctrine they should follow and what avoid, we, in conjunction with this same Synod and in accordance with the rules and opinions of the holy Fathers, do reverently both recognize and embrace the whole body of that belief which the Holy Roman and Apostolic Church, the mother and mistress of all Churches, doth hold and teach ; and we decree that the same be done and openly professed by all.

Cardinal Pole now proceeded to formulate the Catholic Faith, enjoining its observance under pain of *anathema* in obedience to the decrees of Œcumenical Councils “and of the Roman Pontiffs.” With regard to the Papal Supremacy, he decreed as follows :

We lay down that the Holy Apostolic See and the Roman Pontiff hold the primacy over the whole world, and that the Roman Pontiff, in his own person, is the successor of the Blessed Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and is the true Vicar of Christ, the Head of the Church, and the father and instructor of all Christians ; and that to him, in the person of the Blessed Peter, was granted by the Lord Jesus Christ the full power of feeding, ruling, and directing the whole Church, as is also contained in the acts of the Œcumenical Councils and in the sacred Canons.<sup>1</sup>

He also clearly explained the teaching of Holy Church as to the Seven Sacraments, mainly according to the definitions of the General Council of Florence in A.D. 1442, when the schismatic East temporarily returned to Catholic Unity.

The third decree forbade the abuses of clerical non-residence or the tenure of pluralities, whether the offender were bishop or parish priest. The fourth enjoins the pastoral duty of preaching and catechizing : the preachers must be licensed and properly educated by their diocesan. A series of four instructive homilies were to have been issued, but this excellent prospect was frustrated by the ensuing change of religion. The churches

<sup>1</sup> This language is almost *identical* with that of the Vatican Decree defining the dogma of Papal *ex cathedra* infallibility.

were to be provided with the Latin books necessary for Divine Service and with the Vulgate edition of the Holy Bible.

The fifth decree upholds the manner of life which both the upper and the lower clergy should lead—frugality, hospitality, and devotion to their episcopal charge being especially enjoined upon the Bishops, and chastity, clerical dress, and the recitation of the Office upon the parish priests.

The sixth, seventh, and eighth decrees command the greatest care in the selection of candidates for Holy Orders; also before they are instituted to cures of souls they must have sufficient maintenance so as not to be forced to make their sacred duties a venal calling, while no lengthy vacancies or grants of advowsons and presentations of livings are to be permitted.

The ninth decree sternly condemns simony in every form, and the tenth decree the alienation of ecclesiastical property, enacting that an inventory of church goods is to be made in each parish by the priest. This document was to be attested by competent witnesses and renewed every third year—one copy to be kept in the church and another to be deposited with the Bishop.

The eleventh decree—the most important and original of all—enjoined the formation of clerical *seminaries* in each Cathedral, which were to be supported by tithes from every see and benefice; the professors must be carefully licensed by the Ordinary, and the *ordinandi*, divided into two classes of acolyths and upwards and of those not yet tonsured, were to assist at Divine Service in the Cathedral Minsters.

The twelfth and last decree concerned the Visitation of churches, whether the Visitor be Metropolitan, Ordinary, or Archdeacon. The Metropolitans in their Provincial Visitations are to inquire carefully into the general behaviour of the suffragan Bishops, and in case of fault the matter is to be referred to the Provincial Synod, or if necessary to the Apostolic See. The Ordinaries were ordered to hold diocesan Visitations every third year, and minute instructions were given with regard to the same. During his progress the Bishop must live frugally and be accompanied by a small and select retinue: commencing with the Cathedral, the Visitation is to be continued through all the parish and collegiate churches, the schools, the chantries, the booksellers' shops, and the hospitals of the city. Then throughout the parishes of his diocese the Bishop is to administer Confirmation, to give absolution to the reserved cases, and to

deliver fitting exhortations, or, if necessary, to excommunicate stubborn offenders. Reliable witnesses are to give evidence about the behaviour of both clergy and laity in each parish, and strict investigation was ordered as to the performance of Divine Worship in and the furniture of the parish churches—the hanging pyx or the tabernacle, the altars, vestments, church plate and books, the sanctuary lamp, the holy oils, the font, the due administration of the Viaticum, with lanterns and handbell—the Holy Mass to be served by one competent clerk at least, vested in a surplice—the cleanliness and decency of the sacred building inside and the becoming enclosure of the churchyard—the due celebration of Mass and the Divine Office at the proper times and according to the approved rites—the repair of the church fabric and of the parsonage house—the decorous observance of the greater and of dedication festivals without excessive revelries, and so forth.

Inquiry is enjoined as to the *status* and behaviour of the local clergy, whether parochial, collegiate, or chantry priests—their valid ordination and mission, and their episcopal license for hearing confessions—their due residence or illegal serving of other churches—their attention to catechizing—their morality, dress, conversation, and the like. As to the laity—whether they assist at Mass from beginning to end, attend to their children's and their household's spiritual welfare, obtain dispensations from fasting and abstinence for sufficient reasons, and other inquiries.

The relief of the poor and necessitous, the settlement of quarrels, the government of hospitals, schools, booksellers' shops, were all to be effected. Similar instructions are given to the archdeacons, who were to consolidate the episcopal enactments and reforms.

Throughout these Decrees there are frequent references to the Constitutions of Popes and Councils, of the Papal Legates, Otho and Othobonus, of English Provincial Synods, or of Canterbury's Primates; in addition, the result of the Cardinal's experience at the Council of Trent is plainly visible.<sup>1</sup> Thus the necessary and true "reformation" in the English Church was provided for in the most Catholic, exemplary, and complete manner possible, and these Decrees alone would for ever stamp Pole as a great churchman and one who plainly saw the roots of

<sup>1</sup> Wilkins' *Concilia*, iv. 121—126; see also Raikes' and Philipps' translations of the Decrees.

previous and present evils, and that the reform of the clergy would soon involve that of the whole country.<sup>1</sup>

Their similarity with the Decrees enacted at Trent for the reform of the Universal Church is very noticeable, more especially the exceedingly important Tridentine Decree enjoining the creation of ecclesiastical seminaries, which thus appears to have been originally our English Cardinal's idea. How sad to think that within a few years, destruction had taken the place of reform, and that all Pole's splendid schemes for England followed him to the grave!

Meanwhile the Synod adjourned to Lambeth, where, after hearing these Legatine Constitutions read in the parish church, the clergy went to the private chapel of the archiepiscopal manor. Here Mass of the Holy Trinity was sung in the presence of the Cardinal Legate, the Bishops and lower clergy, together with many laity; the Bishop of Lincoln preached. This was Dr. Watson, who now received the order to write his celebrated work entitled *Sermons on the Seven Sacraments*. After Mass, Pole recited special prayers, and then prorogued the Synod.

As the first anniversary of the Reunion fell on a Saturday, the celebration, according to the first decree, was evidently postponed in London till the Sunday, when the Cardinal Legate, preceded by the silver cross and other legatine insignia, and attended by his chaplains, chamberlains, train-bearer, and numerous officials, went in state to the exquisite church of Westminster Abbey, where he was received, probably at the great west door, by the Archbishop of York, several other Bishops, and an enormous congregation of clergy and laity, including many noblemen. The Northern Primate sang High Mass, *coram Cardinali*, which was followed by a stately procession, in which apparently all present joined, round the entire church and through the cloisters: one of the royal chaplains preached the sermon, and doubtless the new decree was read aloud.

Thus a magnificent Service of Thanksgiving to Almighty God was offered up for both Reunion and Reform—now alike secured—by high and low, by rich and poor, in the national temple of England.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Even the Protestant Bishop Burnet of Salisbury, in evident admiration, remarked how there was no order to persecute others, only to amend themselves.

<sup>2</sup> We may note that the whole work of Cardinal Pole was emphatically a *restoration* of the old religion, a rejection of the new "Anglicanism," and was emphatically too a canonical and legal return to the glorious past of a thousand

During the sessions of the Synod Pope Paul IV. had raised Pole from the Cardinal Diaconate of the Holy Roman Church by the title of SS. Nereus and Achilles to the Presbyterate by the title of S. Maria in Cosmedin, and also had appointed him administrator of the see of Canterbury, owing to the deposition and excommunication of Archbishop Cranmer. At a subsequent Consistory, the Holy Father, at the request of "their Brittanic Majesties" Philip and Mary, confirmed the capitular election of Cardinal Pole to the archbishopric of Canterbury and the Primacy of All England—at the same time paying once more a special tribute to the new Primate. Pole after some hesitation had agreed to the Royal proposal on condition that the Pope dispensed him from being summoned to Rome, a request which was apparently at once granted by Paul IV.

It should be remembered that the Cardinal was still only a deacon, and accordingly on March 20th, 1556, he was ordained priest in the conventual church of the Grey Friars, at Greenwich. We can imagine the holy joy and devout compunction with which the good Cardinal said his first Mass on the following morning—the day, too, on which Cranmer paid the frightful penalty of his frightful crimes.

Upon March the 22nd, Pole was consecrated Bishop in this same church by the last Catholic Archbishop of York (Dr. Heath), assisted by the last Catholic Bishops of London, Ely, Lincoln, Worcester, Rochester, and St. Asaph, and in the presence of his Sovereign and cousin, Queen Mary. When we recall the sad fact that Pole was alas! himself to be the last Catholic Archbishop of Canterbury, the sixty-seventh and last lineal successor of St. Augustine, this day's ceremony becomes possessed with a pathetic interest. In order to prevent his absence from the Court, where, owing to the departure of King Philip, the Queen frequently needed his advice, the Cardinal consented to be enthroned by proxy at Canterbury, and publicly received the pallium in London instead of in his Cathedral.

This historic ceremony took place on Lady Day at the

years in this country. As for the absurd idea that this submission to Rome was then felt to be a humiliating act of shame, the only thing to be ashamed of was the disgraceful way in which the holders of the monastic territorial spoils would only submit provided that, as a *sine qua non*, their tenure of the same was absolutely safeguarded. These "pious Amen reformation men," as the Protestant historian Cobbett scornfully calls them, soon became the ringleaders in the cruel persecution of that very Protestantism which they had adopted to their personal advantage in the previous reign and which they were soon again to embrace for a similar reason.



Church of St. Mary-le-Bow, near St. Paul's Cathedral, one of the "peculiars" of the Southern Metropolitan and the seat of his *curia*: several Bishops, councillors, noblemen, and a crowded congregation were present. As the new Archbishop-elect entered the sacred building some "aggrieved parishioners," probably Protestants, presented a petition to him, begging his Grace to commence his archiepiscopal duties by a spiritual act.

The Bishop of Worcester sang the Mass, and the Cardinal fulfilled their request by delivering, quite extempore and entirely unprepared, a most remarkable and fluent sermon upon the pallium which he had just received; we are told that, when pointing out its symbolism and its connection with the blessings of peace and unity, both preacher and listeners were moved to tears.

Afterwards, "the Royal Reginald," illustrious scion of the Plantagenets and son of a Martyr—now Archbishop of Canterbury, Metropolitan of the Southern Province, Primate of All England, *Legatus natus* and also a *latere* of the Apostolic See, and Prince of Holy Church, would doubtless have proceeded in solemn procession round the church, distributing his blessing to the congregation.

Pole, as he considered befitting to his supreme position, henceforth resided in great state at Lambeth Manor, and his household appears to have almost rivalled that of Cardinal Wolsey: he here extended unbounded hospitality to all, especially to the poor, but himself lived in the most frugal simplicity.

The new Cardinal Primate at once commenced a Visitation of his archdiocese, beginning with his half-wrecked Cathedral church, to which he presented several valuable gifts of plate and vestments. Probably it was at this period that Pole issued his excellent series of *Visitation Articles*, which may be read at length in Wilkins' *Concilia*.<sup>1</sup> Divided into two parts, they were respectively headed "Touching the clergy" and "Touching the lay people," and they greatly resemble his Legatine Constitutions, to which indeed they formed a counterpart.

These inquiries again indicate and wisely counteract the principal causes of past and present mischief, and were apparently addressed to the parish churchwardens: it is interesting to find Cardinal Pole enjoining the restoration of the Rood-screen in every church and alluding to the time of

<sup>1</sup> Bk. iv. pp. 169, 170.



"Mass, Matins, and Even-song," which were of course to be said in Latin, as of old.

He now also commenced a Provincial Visitation, as Metropolitan, upon the same lines—for example, in the diocese of Gloucester, through his delegate the Bishop.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile this zealous Primate vigorously propagated the Church restoration, both spiritual and material: the sacred buildings were restored to some of their pristine beauty, although the sad havoc of the preceding reign had resulted in irreparable damage: about fifteen new editions of Missals, Breviaries, and other Service-books, according to the Sarum Use, were of necessity now issued, while Pole himself published a Primer for private devotion containing a translation of the Hours, the Little Office of our Lady, &c., and several beautiful English prayers of his own composition. He also had the name of his glorious predecessor, St. Thomas of Canterbury, reinstated in all the old books, where the Pope's name had also been restored.

Queen Mary had already surrendered to the Bishops the tenths and first-fruits annexed to the Crown by Henry VIII. and, despite the general opposition of Parliament and others, had also, with Pole's warm approval, restored to the Church the valuable Crown monastic lands seized by her sacrilegious father. The Primate now ordered the exaction of first-fruits from the clergy to be stopped and, owing to their poverty, lessened the payment of tenths.

Cardinal Pole was always a great admirer of the Benedictine Order and a special friend of its ancient English Congregation, which in God's mercy is still with us in unbroken corporate continuity to-day. Abbot Gasquet thinks that very probably he had been a scholar at the claustral school of Canterbury Cathedral Priory when a boy, and at this time he was *Protector in curia* of the new Benedictine reform, the Cassinese Congregation.

So far "Westminster Abbey" had remained, since the dissolution of the monasteries, merely a Collegiate Church, but through the Cardinal's efforts it was now restored as an Abbey, upon Cassinese lines, to the English Benedictines. On November 21st, their curious *dies memorabilis*, in A.D. 1556, the

<sup>1</sup> Wilkins' *Concilia*, iv. 145—148.

<sup>2</sup> An interesting specimen of these alterations may be seen in a Missal, open at the Canon, now in the Chapter-house of Westminster Abbey.

English Black Monks of St. Benedict resumed their conventual life in their old home in historic Westminster, and upon the 29th the famous Dom Feckenham was blessed Abbot in the presence of the Cardinal Primate, several Bishops, and a large congregation. Doubtless the Cardinal himself installed the new and alas! the last territorial Abbot of Westminster, while High Mass was sung by Dr. Heath, Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor of the realm in succession to Gardiner. According to Machyn Abbot Feckenham preached the sermon.

On the following January 5th the holy body of St. Edward the Confessor was solemnly translated back to its ancient shrine (where it still remains) with great pomp. Even the poor Queen joined in the procession.

No doubt also through the instrumentality of Pole, the Carthusian monks now came back to the Sheen Charterhouse, the Cardinal's old school and place of retirement under Henry VIII.; the Dominican Friars returned to London, the Knights Hospitallers of St. John to Clerkenwell, and the Bridgettine nuns to Syon Abbey. The latter community, founded by King Henry V., still exist in unbroken conventual succession, and are now settled at Chudleigh in Devonshire. Further, from his interesting letter to the Abbot of St. Paul's, at Rome, it is evident that the Cardinal Archbishop hoped to restore either his Cathedral Priory or St. Augustine's Abbey at Canterbury to the Benedictines—probably the latter, as he used to reside there when in his Cathedral city. The rehabilitation of the magnificent Abbeys of St. Albans and Glastonbury was also being mooted when the lowering storm-clouds burst and, for instance, we are told that, in consequence, the last Abbot of St. Albans died of a broken heart.

The Queen's ladies refurnished the Savoy Hospital and her Majesty had some time ago refounded the Franciscan Friary at Greenwich. Very probably she was herself a Tertiary of St. Francis, the dear Seraph of Assisi.

Among Cardinal Pole's many illustrious acquaintances was St. Ignatius Loyola, the holy founder of the Society of Jesus—indeed they were intimate friends and had corresponded ever since the former's appointment to the government of the Petrine Patrimony. St. Ignatius warmly congratulated Pole upon the success of his embassy to England, while the Cardinal in return sent his felicitations on the success of the brilliant

new Order, which was already rekindling zeal and vanquishing heresy, and in which he doubtless took great interest. It is said that the Saint wished to introduce his Society into England and to obtain for that purpose some of the restored monastic property, but that Pole, for various reasons, was unable at the time to comply with the request. They appear to have collaborated over a scheme to turn the ancient English Hospice in the Eternal City into a seminary—an idea afterwards carried into effect by Cardinal Allen, and, after it had fallen into decay and desolation, once more in this century realized by Cardinal Wiseman with its present result, the English College, Rome.

There appears to have been an extraordinary outburst of religious zeal, centred both in cathedrals and parish churches, throughout the country—as exemplified in the well-known case of Hereford Cathedral.

In fine, we may safely say that no Church before or since has ever displayed more Catholic, more complete, and more promising measures of reform than did this rejuvenated ancient *Ecclesia Anglicana*, or has been blessed by a greater leader than the last Cardinal of Canterbury: in consequence, its sudden premature collapse is all the more distressing, especially when one thinks of "what might have been."

For trial, trouble, and disaster had begun.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless

<sup>1</sup> First of all the cruel persecution of the Protestants, led by the time-serving Council and most probably instigated by Philip: though no doubt, if only on account of the mischievous sedition fostered by these poor heretics, some severe measure of repression was plainly necessary but not the infamous and horrible human bonfires, which were the sentence of the State, *not* of the Church. While second to none in his efforts to stem the tide of heresy, it is somewhat noticeable that Cardinal Pole himself never presided at a trial of Protestants, and that the victims in his own archdiocese were all tried by either Archdeacon Harpsfield or the suffragan Bishop of Dover: the law *De heretico comburendo* itself had been revived by Parliament just before the Cardinal's arrival in England. Pole even reprimanded Bishop Bonner for his hasty severity, and through his kindly personal interviews succeeded in obtaining the recantation of some of these sectaries, actually including several already condemned by Bonner. Meanwhile, mischievous persons sent false reports as to the cause of his leniency to Rome, which apparently misled the Supreme Pontiff himself. The unpopular and unhappy Spanish war, into which Philip dragged England, had moreover broken forth—with the consequent political animosity of the Pope, to which was now added his revived personal dislike of his English Legate. Then followed the disastrous cancelling of Cardinal Pole's legation *a latere*, his unjust recall to Rome, and the alleged Papal suspicions as to his orthodoxy. Nearly all historians, both Catholic and Protestant, have agreed in laying the entire blame on Paul IV. and, needless to add, no actual charge of heresy was ever formulated for the simple reason that it was impossible. The Cardinal's life-story alone repudiates it.

Moreover, the childlessness and serious illness of the Queen, together with the heartless behaviour of King Philip, was another grief to Pole's kindly heart amid the

in A.D. 1557, as in 1556, the festal anniversary of the Reconciliation was duly observed. Machyn tells us how on November 30th "the Queen's grace and my lord Cardinal came from Saint James' unto White-hall, and there they heard Mass; and after Mass done, and there were all the Bishops and the Judges and sergeants of the law," an investiture of the Knights of St. John was held, "and the same time my lord Abbot went in procession in his mitre, and all the monks and clerks singing *Salve festa dies*, round about the Abbey (Westminster), and my lord Abbot sang the Mass." After dinner, "my lord Cardinal made a godly sermon in the chapel (St. James'), and there were all the Judges and Bishops, and my lord Mayor and all the aldermen, and many lords and knights, and ladies and gentlemen," while he also makes allusion to the High Mass and procession at St. Paul's Cathedral.

But alas! within a year both Mary and Pole were dead, and soon afterwards Elizabeth and Parker had taken their places. As the feast of St. Andrew, A.D. 1558, passed by, the corpses of England's Queen and Cardinal Primate were each lying-in-state, and—oh! the unutterable sadness of it all—the long night of desolation had commenced.

DUDLEY BAXTER.

general gloom with its awful prospect of general failure. For the heiress to the throne of St. Edward was now the Princess Elizabeth who, but for her sister's clemency, would quite legally have already lost her head for high treason, and whom—despite the shame and, to Mary, bitter wrongs of her birthright—the good Queen had recognized as her successor. Pole well knew that Elizabeth was at heart not a Catholic, and that as Sovereign she would of necessity fall under the ban of the Roman Pontiff. Finally, what the Papal treatment of Cardinal Pole, before the eyes of his countrymen too, must have meant to so sensitive a soul, we can only guess, but in his entire submission and humble deference to Pope Paul IV. the last Catholic Primate of All England added yet another bright jewel to the holy diadem which crowns his memory.

## *Prison Reform.*

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IF the progress of prison reform in our time has been hesitating and tardy, it has at any rate been continuous and general. At the close of the century, Belgium, the pioneer State of the movement, was able to congratulate the International Prison Congress,<sup>1</sup> held recently in Brussels, on the universal adoption by civilized nations of principles and methods which were hers alone before the century began. In those robustious days there was but scant attention elsewhere for the prisoner and his plight. The study of imprisonment as a scientific process by means of which certain high objects might be attained, was yet to come; and the management of these homes of misery was no more humane than intelligent. All that was thought needful was to ensure the custody of the victim, with fetters and chains if necessary, unless it were to inflict on him some further pains and penalties, the smallest of which was to feed him with the bread of affliction and water of distress ordered by Ahab for the prophet Micheas. But even more formidable than its savage provisions were the laxity and neglect that marked prison administration. John Howard, in his sad pilgrimage through the prisons of Europe, found nothing more barbarous than what he saw in his own country. Prisons dilapidated, cells narrow, filthy and unhealthy, debtors and felons confined promiscuously in the same enclosures—these were but minor evils. Innocent and guilty, young and old, healthy and ailing, were all huddled together. Separate apartments were not even provided for the two sexes; and jailors were allowed to sell liquors to those under their charge. Well might it be said, "Abandon hope all

<sup>1</sup> The International Prison Congress held its first Session in London, 1872, and afterwards at intervals of five years in Stockholm, Rome, St. Petersburg, and Paris. The Session of this year began on the 9th August in Brussels. The assembly is composed of representatives from the various Governments, and any other delegates connected with the administration of criminal law. The object of the Congress is to promote prison reform everywhere, and as far as possible the equalization of prison treatment in different countries.

ye that enter here ;" for if, surviving the jail fever, vice and starvation, these unhappy beings appeared again among free people, it was only as propagators of disease and crime.

To the labours of Howard and those who followed in his steps we are indebted for the slow and gradual but complete change which has come over the spirit of Penal law and administration since his day. But as M. Latour, the President, reminded the Congress, Belgium claims a share in the glory of John Howard. For unquestionably his visit to Ghent in 1778 showed him a remedy for the evils he had been investigating, and prompted his subsequent efforts.

In a new prison, the Rasphuys, the Vicomte de Vilain XIV., first Sheriff of Ghent, was already setting the pattern to all future prison reform. There Howard saw realized for the first time a novel system of prison government corresponding to a definite new object. Indeed, all the great principles which humanity and reason have been since endeavouring to get introduced into prison government, were there being applied with intelligence and success. What are those principles? The reformation of the prisoners as the main object of imprisonment through the regenerating agency of hope ; work, instruction, and religion as other moral forces tending to the same end ; power to earn partial remission of sentence and also a share in the profits of labour as an incentive to industry, good conduct, and moral progress ; the introduction of different trades ; the complete teaching of one of these trades so that a prisoner on his discharge can make his own living ; the reliance on moral means in carrying out prison discipline, to the avoidance as far as possible of compulsion and punishment ; the awarding of long sentences, even for slight offences, in the case of habitual and professional criminals ; the intellectual, moral, and industrial training of waifs and juvenile delinquents.

The opposition in the interest of free labour soon wrecked the system of Vilain XIV. in Belgium,<sup>1</sup> happily not completely ; but his methods were already being imitated and perfected abroad ; and presently its main feature, that of Separate Confinement, had developed in the United States into the Cellular System, by which prisoners are kept separate night

<sup>1</sup> After the death of Vilain XIV. and Maria Theresa, who had authorized and encouraged his work, the Emperor Joseph II. stopped the industries of the Rasphuys and reduced it to the lamentable condition in which Howard found it when he returned to Ghent in 1782.

and day, and eventually became the basis of nearly all prison systems.

But the true conversion to the ideas of Vilain and Howard was long delayed. Prison reform in Belgium, recovering from its first check, rapidly advanced on lines of charity and common sense, but elsewhere purely vindictive repression merely transferred its abode from the old dungeons to the well-lighted cells and corridors of the new prisons. And in the midst of architectural, disciplinary, and administrative improvement, prison life still remained until quite recently an unrelenting mental and physical distress, which tended to degrade its victim and harden him against every regenerating influence.

But though few nations outside Belgium have succeeded in fully realizing the aspirations of the Fathers of prison reform, it is evident that their great foundation principle is now accepted in something more than theory by every civilized State. Prison reform, as M. van den Heuvel said in opening the Congress, has been a watchword throughout the century, but never advanced so rapidly as during these latter years. It has now attracted the attention of thinkers and philanthropists, enlisted the sympathies of those that guide public opinion, and forced itself on legislators. Indeed, the whole tone of the Congress, consisting of statesmen, judges, and administrators from twenty-nine States, "assembled to compare the fruit of their experience, and give a fresh impulse to social progress of nations," was cordially humanitarian and charitable, and left no doubt that the Penal authorities have gained an enlarged conception of their duties.

This was indicated still more unmistakably in reports from different Governments on the actual state of their Penal and Penitentiary systems. From every quarter came evidence of a break already effected, or at least contemplated, with the tradition of mere retaliatory punishment. In this respect no testimony was so outspoken as that of our English representatives. These heirs to a system once described as the most soulless and mechanical in Europe, produced a record of legislative and administrative changes so thorough as to amount to a new Penal system. The Inebriates' Act, the Reformatory Schools' Act, the Probation of First Offenders' Act, the Summary Jurisdiction Acts, and the Prisons' Act of 1899 with the rules made under it, constitute a new system in which the idea of punishment is to a great extent superseded by the idea of reformation and prevention.



The spirit which animates this interesting policy is felt in many ways, of which the small but significant permission for prisoners to keep photos and mementos in their cells is an illustration. It has also asserted itself by granting increased privileges in the matter of letters and visits, and of a more liberal distribution of books; in the abolition of starvation diet and of non-productive labour; in the leave granted to earn remission even in local prisons; in the relaxation of the rigours of the cellular system by permission to talk occasionally, and to work in association; as well as in the increased instruction in schools for imperfectly educated prisoners. Reports and punishments are deprecated unless when indispensable to discipline, and the power to award corporal punishment no longer rests with the prison officials. Trained and tactful warders are being gradually introduced, with instructions to take into account the self-respect and good-will of prisoners, to encourage in them habits of cheerful activity and self-reliance, which may lead afterwards to a manly, upright life. Judges are empowered to relegate the prisoner they are sentencing to one of three categories into which prisoners are now divided, so that if their reformation is not effected, at least contamination is checked, and fewer will come out of prison worse than they went in. To the organization of the prison system on industrial instead of military lines through the teaching of trades, and habituation to useful labour, there may be economic and political difficulties, such as brought to grief the Rasphuys in 1783. But evidently the spirit of Vilain XIV. is with us, and the most advanced reformer at the Congress could not complain of the zeal and courage which has undertaken the transformation of our whole Penal system, and is striving to make the prison, instead of a place of punishment, a true school and moral hospital.

These reforms exemplify the spirit which has consistently animated the International Prison Congress, for at each quinquennial Session since its institution in 1872, it has deprecated the use of mere severity against prisoners, not only on humane grounds, but as a matter of practical wisdom. And this is the more important since the prison directors and officials who chiefly constitute it are, of all people, least likely to be influenced by vague sentiments of benevolence, or a degenerate tenderness for criminals. Equally would they repudiate, as did M. de Goos, the Danish Minister of Justice, and M. van den Heuvel, the Belgian Minister, in their speeches at the opening



sitting, any design to belittle the Principle of Responsibility. But in the course of their experiences, these jailors of many lands have witnessed the signal failure of deterrent and vindictive punishment. They have seen their prisons constantly replenished, and mainly by recidivists, in spite of energetic and even ruthless severity. They have realized the futility of attempting to check crime without taking all its elements into account. Not that penology ignores the value of punishment in right measure, but it seeks to modify our sentiments towards the criminals by distributing the blame we have been accustomed to fix on him only. It takes into reckoning the complicity of human nature and of society, and directs attention rather to the motives and causes of crime—the moral and material conditions that produce it. To this quarter chiefly the zeal of the Congress turned. The section concerned with Penal Institutions had little new to propose. It was felt that the claims of reason and good feeling had already been substantially satisfied. The thought and solicitude which have accomplished so much in the direction of Prison Reform since the days of Vilain XIV. and John Howard, are now free for an even more important work. "We know by this time," said M. Latour, "how prisons ought to be built, and how they ought to be administered. Henceforward we must study how to keep them empty." For the prisons themselves, no matter how perfected, will never contribute greatly to the ends of penology. To check the progress of crime it is necessary to go to the street and the vile homes where it is bred, and apply our best remedies to its early manifestation in the child.

Hence the care of poor children likely to become the victims of crime-producing conditions was the first concern of the section dealing with Preventive work. The organization and management of industrial schools, orphanages, and reformatories afforded animated discussion. The vexed question of "boarding out," recommended in 1897 by Sir Godfrey Lushington's Commission as against the present system of large institutions, gave rise as usual to a brisk debate, which resulted in this conclusion, adopted from the report of M. Barthélémy: "*Le Congrès est d'avis qu'il y a lieu, a pour assurer une education rationnelle des jeunes delinquents ainsi que des moralement abandonnés, de combiner ces deux méthodes*"—which surpasses the Judgment of Solomon, inasmuch as it ought to satisfy both sides.

The deportation of carefully selected children at a proper age to our colonies has been attended with a success which the Congress seemed to regard as our peculiar privilege ; and there is every reason to believe that in the near future Rhodesia and other parts of South Africa will offer a more attractive field for this kind of enterprise than even Canada has proved.

Unfortunately truancy, which is the first indication of a criminal bent, did not receive from the Congress the attention it seems to call for ; and the extent of this evil in London at the present moment indicates the weakest feature in our Administrative System. Doubtless the 100,000 truants to be seen daily on our streets and commons will furnish the bulk of our prison population ten years hence. Already, indeed, we have had in the prisons this year, 1,301 children of the age of twelve and over, out of whom 1,000 had little or no education, though 473 came from good homes. The unwillingness of parents to part with wayward children, whom, nevertheless, they are unable to control, the unwillingness of magistrates to relieve parents of their natural duties, and above all, the inadequate provision for the enforcement of school attendance, are producing their deplorable results, and can be counteracted only by firm legislation.

In Germany, where the Elementary schools are maintained out of the Imperial Exchequer, the school attendance officers are the police, who have power to deal summarily with the case of any child found at large during school hours, by at once exacting a fine from the parents, who, however, have the alternative of appearing before a magistrate. Under this method few truants can long escape detection and the legal consequences of persistent non-attendance.

More encouraging were the reports and recommendations of the Congress in the matter of provision for convicted youths. From England came the gratifying information that recent Acts of Parliament have abolished the abuse of sentencing young offenders to a term of imprisonment before committing them to reformatory schools, and that at the same time the age limit for these institutions was raised from fourteen to sixteen. The comparative failure of our Reformatories has been largely due to the too early discharge of lads who, after years of somewhat harsh restraint, were thrust upon the world at the most difficult period of life. With some further changes of internal administration we yet see the Reformatory fulfilling its purpose satis-

factorily, instead of remaining, as it has been too much in the past, a finishing school in preparation for the prison.

The success of experiments in the separation of older criminals from juvenile offenders and collecting them in special prisons, seems to foreshadow important developments on the lines laid down by the State of New York in the famous Elmira Reformatory. The data laid before the Congress were insufficient to enable it to pronounce on the efficacy of this system, where the age limit may run from sixteen to thirty and over, and an Indeterminate Sentence leaves the time of release to the discretion of the Directors. Such an elaborate and expensive scheme, under which industries, trades, and even liberal arts, are taught and practised, may not be adaptable in its entirety to the conditions of this country; but the power of applying Reformatory treatment to lads over sixteen is no less requisite with us than in the United States. The "Juvenile-Adult," to give him his official name, who has been gaining some notoriety lately in our streets, is a subject of solicitude to the public and to authority; but under suitable treatment he is more amenable to management than is generally believed. The short terms of imprisonment in the common jail which are ordinarily meted out to him are the strongest influence in developing his evil tendencies and making him an inveterate and really formidable criminal. But the good results obtained in Bedford, even with short sentences, when youths of this class were taken specially in hand and subjected to a suitable course of moral and industrial training, afford some gauge of what might be achieved in a Penal Reformatory properly designed and equipped, and under a sentence terminable with the acquirement by the prisoner of an honest trade and settled habits of order and industry. The scheme would prove worthy of any expense or trouble the State might have to incur; while the determination of sentences at the discretion of the Directors would be no more an infringement of Judicial privilege than the partial remission of sentences in recognition of good conduct now granted under legal enactment in our Convict and Local Prisons.

Public sympathy, which has encouraged the development of a humane and judicious policy in all such matters, would be readily forthcoming for a measure of this kind. But benevolent administration requires more than sympathy. Its best efforts can meet only disappointment if they are not seconded and continued by private charity. For Penitentiary work is not

only an interest of Government. It is a social interest of the first order, requiring the combined action of all social forces, but which Catholic charity will recognize as peculiarly its own. And above all the high principle of charity. The great works undertaken abroad by Religious Orders, Committees of Patronage, and Associations specially formed to help prisoners, are fit expressions of this principle. In the child imperilled or already tainted by crime, in the prisoner thinking in his prison of facing once again a world stonier than his cell, Catholic charity sees at once its burden and its treasure. Let us not hesitate to take it on our shoulders.

JOHN COONEY.

## *The French Government and the Catholic Schools.*

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IN his Toulouse speech of October 28th, and on a subsequent occasion in the Chamber, M. Waldeck-Rousseau announced his determination to proceed at once to the long-threatened legislation against the Religious Orders and the Free Schools. Whether he will succeed in converting his Bills into Laws before his Government goes the way of all other recent French Governments it is not easy for foreigners like ourselves to judge, but there are many stages through which the passage of such Bills will have to be fought, and we are informed that he will not find his task easy or speedy of accomplishment. We trust that this may prove to be the case. Meanwhile, our readers may well wish to have some material for judging of the rights and wrongs of the controversy—at a time when our English journalists, forgetful of the principles which they otherwise profess, are expressing a general sympathy with M. Waldeck-Rousseau's persecuting policy, and declaring that it has been thoroughly necessitated by the evil conduct of those against whom it is directed.

The coming campaign will include two points. There is to be a new law on Associations and a new law on Education. Perhaps before this article is published the text of the two Bills will have been laid before the Chamber of Deputies. But the project is one on which M. Waldeck-Rousseau and his friends have been long intent, and just a year ago, that is to say, shortly after their advent to office, they laid before the Chamber two Bills in pursuance of it, from the text of which—as M. Waldeck-Rousseau's Toulouse speech foreshadows—the text of the coming Bills is not likely to differ in any important particular. We may then base our comments on the text of the Bills of November, 1899.

According to the one dealing with education, all candidates for situations under Government, for which secondary or higher education is required as a condition, as well as all candidates

desiring to enter the great Government schools (by which phrase are meant the Polytechnic School, the Naval and Military Schools, the Higher Normal School, and others similar), must have made their last three years of study in a *Lycée* or public college. Candidates will not be allowed to apply for situations or enter their names for examination unless they can bring a certificate that this stage has been fulfilled. Moreover, the Free Schools will not be allowed to send their pupils to the *Lycées* for class, if their directors and masters belong to an Association interdicted by the Law.

The Law to which this last clause refers is the Law on Association, which it is hoped to pass along with the other. According to Article II. of this latter Bill, any Association founded for an illicit cause or purpose, contrary to the laws or the Constitution, to public order or good morals, or involving the renunciation of rights incapable of being bartered (*droits qui ne sont pas dans la commerce*) is null and of no effect. Subsequent Articles impose on those who infringe these provisions a penalty of from 16 to 5,000 francs, and imprisonment of from six days to two years, which penalty is likewise to be incurred "by all who shall have helped the members of the dissolved association to reunite (*auront favorisé la reunion*)."

The phraseology of this Article II. on Associations is intentionally obscure. The name of Religious Congregations, it will be noticed, is not mentioned; whilst the other portions of the Bill are so drawn up as to give it the general appearance of being one for facilitating, not impeding, the formation of Associations. The Preamble, however, explains that by the phrase "renunciation of rights capable of being bartered," is meant the renunciation of the exercise of the natural faculties, among which are the rights to marry or possess property, or to make any contract which resembles a personal servitude extending to the entire personality (*qui porte sur l'ensemble de la personne*). Seeing that the principal object of the Bill is avowedly to dissolve the Religious Orders, the fact that it should have been felt necessary to designate them by a phrase so cryptic, is sure evidence that M. Waldeck-Rousseau and his friends are half-ashamed of their bantling; for otherwise, as the Comte de Mun justly remarks,<sup>1</sup> it would have been clearer and more straight-

<sup>1</sup> In his *Loi des Suspects* (p. 29), there is a forcible exposure of the Waldeck-Rousseau policy under all its aspects, which deserves to be read by those who desire to understand the nature and causes of the present religious crisis across the Channel.

forward to say simply that "all who take vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience are placed outside the common law."<sup>2</sup>

The further to excite prejudice against the Religious Orders and Congregations, M. Waldeck-Rousseau gave what we may presume is a grossly exaggerated estimate of their property, which he sets down at a thousand milliards of francs in realty, with a corresponding amount of personalty. He suggests that these vast sums have been accumulated and are used as a war chest to support a campaign for the destruction of the Republic; ignoring the obvious fact that a large proportion of the property of the Congregations is sunk in buildings, many thousands of them institutions of charity, and the rest of it represents the maintenance of their members, not to speak of the vast numbers of pupils, orphans, sick and aged, who live under their roofs and feed at their tables—for he includes the religious of both sexes, and those devoted to prayer or works of charity as well as those engaged in teaching the young. But space will not allow us to comment on all the points in M. Waldeck-Rousseau's attack, and we must pass over this, and with it the heartless cruelty of

<sup>2</sup> Indeed, in their anxiety to cover the nakedness of their injustice, the Ministry have left a loophole through which, if the impartiality of the French courts can be relied upon, their victims may be able to escape. It is perfectly true that no one can lawfully or validly, from the point of view of natural law, and, we imagine, of most positive law too, contract himself into a servitude extending to his entire personality. Within the circumscription of human personality, there are certainly rights and duties which no one can alienate—we combine the terms rights and duties, for they are correlatives, but duty would have been the more suitable term for the Bill to use. No one, for instance, could contract himself lawfully or validly into an obligation to blaspheme, or out of the duty and consequent right to keep himself from committing murder or suicide, or stealing, or telling lies, or violating any clear obligation of piety, justice, or charity. Nor does any Religious Order expect from its members such impossible and iniquitous acts of self-renunciation. The Church does not even sanction in Religious Congregations vows going to such extremes of self-renunciation as might be absolutely possible and lawful, but in view of human weakness would be imprudent and dangerous. But it is absurd and contrary to experience to say that there is anything inconsistent with morality, or exceeding human strength, in a mode of self-renunciation which comprises abstention from unnecessary material comforts, abstention from the cares and solaces of the marriage state, and the following out of a reasonable mode of life under obedience to a carefully selected Superior. And this is all that the member of a Religious Congregation accepts. Every Religious Congregation has its approved Rule defining with sufficient precision the mode of life its members are to lead and the kind of work in which they are to engage; and it is an understood thing that none are bound by their vows to obey commands overstepping the lines thus marked out by their Rule. In fact, the only Associations of which one knows which exact a submission extending to the entire personality, in the sense of requiring the violation of inalienable rights and duties, seem to be those Secret Societies which under the sanction of the dagger have not shrunk from requiring their members to take human life, and by so doing have been able to contribute largely to the establishment of the Revolution in France and Italy.



turning out of their homes and casting adrift on the world, suddenly deprived of their means of support, the multitudes of religious, men and women, against whom no charge has been made good in any court of law, but who, on the contrary, are known to have been leading quiet, inoffensive lives, and in many cases lives of signal devotedness in the service of their neighbours; yes, and we may add, who in many cases will prove to be the daughters and sisters, or the educators of the daughters and sisters, of the very men who thus deliver them over to want and exile. All this we must pass over, but it is well to have noted it, if for no other reason, at all events as illustrating the true character of a man who has the audacity to tell us that the device of his party is "more activity in the government, more security in the institutions, *more liberty, fraternity, and justice.*"

That to which we must restrict our attention in the present article is the attempt to drive out of the Free Schools, and into the *Lycées*, the youths who are ambitious of entering some one or other of the public services. It will be noticed that the Bill on education directly affects the schooling of those only who desire to enter the public service—civil, naval, or military—in the ranks for which secondary or higher education is a necessary qualification. It does not touch the Government *employés* of lower degree, or those who are destined for the different trades or commerce, or can live on their means. It was not prudent to apply a direct irritant to too many of those who have votes. It must, however, be remembered, on the other hand, how much larger is the number of State *employés* in France than in this country. It must be remembered also, that by destroying the Religious Congregations, on whom depends almost the entire present machinery for free education, M. Waldeck-Rousseau is striving indirectly to force all these other children into the State and Communal schools just as effectually as if he had included them in a compulsory regulation. There is therefore a tone of hypocrisy in the following passage of the Toulouse speech, in which he pleads that he is surely moderate and reasonable in requiring that the State's own officials should be trained in its spirit, and claims credit to himself for leaving a perfect educational liberty to all others.

The fundamental rule of the Republican policy [he says] should be to accord confidence only to those from whom it can expect a loyal and resolute co-operation. Experience has shown the impossibility of blindly hoping to obtain this from men not imbued with its spirit, its



traditions, or principles. Much more should it exact from those who are chosen that loyal and elementary loyalty which does not allow them to repudiate its teaching or turn their backs on its schools. Those who have no ambition to become State officials may prepare themselves, when and where they like, for the numberless liberal, commercial, or industrial professions open to them. But the service of the State is not a profession, it is a function.

Elsewhere in the same speech he reveals to us how fully he is conscious that it is the entire Catholic portion of the youth of France he is striving to deprive of its Catholic education.

In this country, whose moral unity has for centuries constituted its strength and greatness, two youths are growing up ignorant of each other until the day when they meet, so unlike as to risk their not comprehending one another. Such a fact is explained only by the existence of a power which is no longer even occult, and by the constitution in the State of a rival power. All efforts will be fruitless as long as a rational effective legislation has not superseded a legislation at once illogical, arbitrary, and inoperative. If we attach so much importance to a Law on Associations it is also because it involves the solution of at least a portion of the education question. This Bill is the indispensable guarantee of the most necessary prerogatives of modern society.

These two quotations also set before us the reasons which, according to M. Waldeck-Rousseau, justify what the *Spectator* calls his "monstrous denial of religious equality." What are we to think of them?

Certainly it must be bad for his country if there are really two youths in its midst growing up thus disposed towards one another. But granting that it is so, on which side lies the fault? M. Waldeck-Rousseau assures us that it is on the side of the Catholics—or as he would say the Clericals.<sup>1</sup> He asks us to believe that the Religious Congregations are turbulent bodies, all animated with a fanatical and unreasoning hatred of the Republic, which only desires to be as fair to them as to others, and all incessantly engaged in striving to overthrow it. He asks us to believe that it is for this purpose they have established their Free Schools. They indoctrinate their pupils with their own enmities, practising upon the pliability of their youth, and

<sup>1</sup> "The distinction between Catholicism and Clericalism is official, subtle, and for the sake of the tribune; but here in the Lodge, Catholicism and Clericalism are all one." So says M. Courdaveaux, former professor of the Faculté of Lille, as reported by the *Revue des deux Mondes* (May 1, 1899) from the *Chaine D'Union* for 1880.

then send them forth into French society to harass the quiet-living folk who find in the Republic the impartial guardian of liberty and progress. Particularly they desire to occupy the ranks of the public services with their emissaries, realizing that these are strategic posts from which they can fight more effectually for the attainment of their objects. And thanks to the undue privileges allowed them by the existing law, they have been able to carry out this plan of campaign with large success, the disastrous result being that in these services dissension and distrust have come to prevail, where all should be working together in "moral unity" and mutual confidence, for the good of the country through the development of Republican institutions.

M. Waldeck-Rousseau does not indeed say all this in his Toulouse speech, but he intimates it in a few phrases which are quite intelligible to those who know what has been incessantly repeated by himself and his friends for some months past, and has been passed on from them to their English allies, and been circulated in the English papers.

When, however, we ask for proofs in support of this appalling accusation, we are never given them. We obtain only, and in lieu of proofs, a reiteration of the accusations, and these are persisted in even when the plainest proofs of the contrary have been exhibited. The charge against the Jesuits in connection with the Dreyfus case is an instance of this, for we are still given to understand that this case supplies the last and most striking illustration of the mischievous activity of the Congregations. The Jesuits felt they had obtained a hold on the Army, and hoped to get it altogether into their power. They were resolved therefore to eject and discredit those who stood in their way, and it was in the pursuance of this policy that they strove to the bitter end to fix the cruel charge on a member of another creed. Over and over again has this been stated in England as in France, without a shred of proof being offered, although it has been demanded. And yet what has the course of the many trials revealed? Of the judges of 1894 only one had been brought up by the Jesuits, and this one a mere supply judge never called upon to sit. In the trial of 1899, at Rennes, there was likewise but a single pupil of the Jesuits among the judges. Of course he had no part in his own designation, and he was one of the two judges on whom public opinion fixed as having given the minority votes for acquittal. Among the witnesses in all the

different trials but six were Jesuit pupils, and of these six three gave evidence in favour of Dreyfus—one of them important evidence—whilst a fourth gave purely formal evidence. Of the Generals who had been mixed up with the case, only General de Boisdeffre, who came out of it most honourably, had ever been at a Jesuit school, and he only for two years in early childhood.<sup>1</sup>

But anyhow, it may be said, the Religious Congregations dislike the Republic, its spirit, its traditions, and its principles, and bring up their pupils to share these sentiments; and that of itself is sufficient to justify a law excluding them from the public service. For experience, we have heard M. Waldeck-Rousseau say, shows that a "Republican policy cannot expect a loyal and resolute co-operation from men not imbued with its spirit, its traditions, and its principles."

It is interesting to note that in enunciating this *dictum*, M. Waldeck-Rousseau is compelled to place himself in conflict with a document which he presumably regards as the Palladium of Republican Liberties. In the Declaration of Rights all Frenchmen are assured that "all citizens are equally admissible to all public dignities, places, and employments, so far as they are capable, and without regard to any other distinction than that of their virtues and talents." If, however, this Declaration, hitherto so sacred in Republican eyes, is to be set aside, on the alleged ground that those who come from the Free Schools are proved by experience to be incapable of loyally serving the State, one might expect at least to be supplied with the particulars of this experience. It is what M. Jacques Pion asked M. Waldeck-Rousseau during the last Session of the Chamber. M. Waldeck-Rousseau's answer was instructive. He said he had no particular facts to point to, but it was a general situation which had motived his action, and his conviction of its necessity increased daily. No wonder that the Comte de Mun, in relating this incident,<sup>2</sup> was reminded of the words of one of the orators of the 18 Fructidor, "Proofs: we do not need them against the Royalists. I have my conviction." Still, it is evident what M. Waldeck-Rousseau means. He does not like to say it plainly, for he professes to uphold liberty of conscience, but what he has really in mind is the old idea of Napoleon, who said: "My principal object [in founding the University of France and granting it an absolute monopoly] is to have a means of

<sup>1</sup> *La Loi des Suspects*, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 146.

directing political opinions. . . . As long as the child is not taught to know whether he ought to be a republican or a monarchist, Catholic or irreligious, the State will not be one nation." Napoleon meant that all should be brought up Imperialists; M. Waldeck-Rousseau that they should all—at least all the future public servants—be brought up Republicans, and not merely Republicans pure and simple, but Republicans of the sort which identifies Republicanism with anti-Catholicism and irreligion. Herein, and not in any experience of disloyalty on the part of the Catholic State servants, lies the real motive which has dictated the two threatened Bills. And he has specially in mind a fact which, though not expressly mentioned in his Toulouse speech, is implied in the one illustration he there gives of disloyalty on the part of some of the civil servants. The Republic, he says, should at least exact from them "that elementary loyalty which does not allow them to *repudiate its teaching and turn their backs on its schools.*"

There is a "University crisis" which has developed in France out of a process which has been going on for some years back—a process by which the State Schools belonging to the University have been losing heavily in the number of their pupils, while the Congregational Schools have been proportionately gaining. It is this which has so exercised the anti-religious party, and has caused a portion of them to look for the remedy in some drastic measure which may stay the competition.

The existence of this "University crisis" was pointed out in several Budget Reports during recent years, and M. Bouge in his Report for 1898 gave the statistics in a way which made a deep impression upon the opponents of Free Education. He said that between 1896 and 1897 there had been a decrease of 863 pupils in the *Lycées*, and 188 in the (Communal) Colleges; and likewise in the Free Schools conducted by laymen a decrease of 786; whilst in the Free Schools conducted by ecclesiastics there had been an increase of 3,682.<sup>1</sup> Should the same process continue, it seemed likely that in a short time the Clerical Schools would have come to teach an absolute majority of French school-boys, and, according to M. Maurice Faure's Budget for 1900, this probability has been converted into a reality, for he gives 86,321 pupils in the *Lycées* and Communal Colleges, and 91,140 in the Clerical Schools.

<sup>1</sup> See *La Crise Universitaire*, by M. G. de Lamarzelle, Preface.

As we have already pointed out in THE MONTH,<sup>1</sup> this increasing tendency to prefer the Clerical Schools to those of the State, or to the Free Schools taught by laymen, has been rendered the more significant by the fact that it is a preference largely shown not only by the declared Catholics, but even by the class of parents from whom, seeing the nature of their opinions and political sympathies, the opposite might have been expected.

The announcement of this progressive abandonment of the State Schools—withstanding the lavish way in which they have been provided out of the public funds, with well-trained professors, abundant burses, and sumptuous buildings—naturally led to a demand to know its causes, and in compliance with this demand a Parliamentary Commission was appointed in 1898, under the presidency of M. Ribot, which commenced its sessions on January 17th, 1898, and completed them on March 27th of the same year. Its instructions were to take evidence and prepare schemes for the reform of Secondary Education. The evidence taken by this Commission, which comprises the testimonies of the most prominent educational authorities in France, has been published in four volumes quarto.

We have not had access to this official publication itself, but an interesting study of the same, full of quotations from the deponents before the Commission, may be found in M. de Lamarzelle's already mentioned little volume, *La Crise Universitaire*. We have also before us *La Reforme de l'Enseignement Secondaire*,<sup>2</sup> which is the Report of the Commission itself by its President, M. Alexandre Ribot.

M. Ribot, speaking in his capacity as President, fully recognizes the existence of the tendency adverse to State Schools, but submits the statistics to a careful analysis, from which he gathers, apparently with justice, that preference for the Religious Schools is not the sole cause of the tendency in question, but that some economical causes, without bearing on the religious question, have co-operated. On the other hand, he brings out into prominence that the gains of the Religious Schools over the *Lycées* are particularly noticeable in the *Internats*, or boarding-schools. He acknowledges also that the preference for the Clerical Schools extends to parents not suspect themselves of Clericalism.

<sup>1</sup> See THE MONTH, February, 1899, *The Jesuits and the Dreyfus Case*.

<sup>2</sup> Published by Armand Colin and Co., Paris.

For some years past [he says] a change has taken place among the *clientèle* of the *Lycées*, which has had the effect of alienating from public education a portion of the families which used to be most loyal to it. . . . Convictions which deserve to be respected often govern the choice of parents. A change has taken place among the *bourgeoisie*; it is tending towards the Catholic Church. . . . The public officials themselves and the officers show a tendency to prefer the education of the ecclesiastical schools to that of the *Lycées*. During the last twenty years the question of liberty of teaching has been confounded with that of [teaching freely allowed to] the non-authorized Congregations. This policy has succeeded in provoking a still more marked reaction in favour of the ecclesiastical schools.<sup>1</sup>

To which words of M. Ribot we may annex the following quotation from M. Rambaud, a Senator and former Minister of Public Instruction. It is not entirely concerned with the school question, but it illustrates the nature of the causes which militate in favour of the Free Schools, for it shows to how large an extent the supposed anti-clericalism of the French *bourgeoisie* is unreal, and the result of terrorism on the part of the dominant faction. M. Rambaud says :<sup>2</sup>

Among the deputies who in the tribune fulminate most loudly against the Congregations and the clergy, one has his children in the Congregationist schools, where he was himself brought up; another, wearing the tricoloured scarf, presides for the (Christian) Brothers at one of their prize distributions; another compensates for the virulence of his language by presenting to churches splendid windows, organs, or Ways of the Cross; another inveighs against the clergy as a whole—but knows as well as any one how to procure nominations to rural deaneries, or to get things done for episcopal residences; another goes to Mass when he is at home in his mountain district, but does not go when he is down in the plain; another, though the member of a Civil Burials League, hastens as soon as he has a slight illness to send for a confessor; another with eclectic liberality subscribes alike to clerical *patronages* and anti-clerical committees; another, who in the Chamber is imperious in demanding *laicisation* at all costs [*i.e.*, the expulsion of the nuns and brothers from the State schools and hospitals], strives his very best to hinder them in the country; another inspires ultra-radical journals, and at the same time finds means to insert useful little paragraphs into the *Croix* of his own neighbourhood.

M. Ribot's Commission was appointed by the present Chamber of Deputies, and it is the only judicial inquiry into the facts which

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit. pp. 146—148.

<sup>2</sup> As given in *La Crise Universitaire*, p. 64.

M. Waldeck-Rousseau alleges as having created the necessity for suppressing the Free Schools. It is therefore of importance to remember that the Commission produced nothing which could justify his present enterprise. We believe we are right in stating that no witnesses whatever gave evidence to the existence of the supposed conspiracy against the State in the Free Schools. At any rate no evidence to that effect was given which in either the Resolutions of the Committee or M. Ribot's Introductory Report, written by their direction and communicated along with the Resolution to the Chamber of Deputies, was thought of sufficient consequence to deserve even a passing mention. All that the Resolutions recommended in regard to the Free Schools was that they should be inspected in the same way as the *Lycées* and Communal Schools, "to obtain a guarantee for the standard of the teaching and the value of the school-books." M. Ribot in his Report went a little beyond that. He showed a leaning towards restraining in some way the competition under which the State Schools suffer, at least in regard to candidates for admission into the public services, and he tried, as we have seen, to draw a distinction between liberty of teaching accorded to Frenchmen generally, and the same liberty accorded to the Congregations—though, if no charge can be substantiated against the Congregations of having abused their position, there can be no just reason why their cause should be separated from that of others, or any reason for wishing such a separation unless it be the consciousness that their schools are more appreciated by the French people, and are thus the more formidable competitors with the State.

Finally, however, he concluded against attempts to touch the Free Schools by legislation, and still more by mere ministerial decrees.

Whatever [he writes] resembles an attack on the liberty of families is dangerous, especially in a Government which cannot seek its supports outside (public) opinion, and has no other foundation on which to rest save liberty. The measures taken in 1880 [by the Ferry Decrees] against the Religious Congregations have had no lasting effect on the distribution of the young people among the State and the ecclesiastical schools. Of late years the Republican Government has seemed to show, if not an attitude of indifference, at least a desire not to create difficulties for itself. . . . [Still] it ought at least to see that the education given by the State does not appear to assure to its future civil servants or future officers less advantages than the education given in the Free Schools [which, of course, the Free Schools never asked for,



or dreamt of expecting]. . . . It is an affair of government rather than of legislation. Much tact and firmness will be necessary, a sincere respect for liberty of conscience, and at the same time an exalted notion of the rights and prerogatives of the State.<sup>1</sup>

The anti-clericals looked to M. Ribot's Commission for assistance in prosecuting their campaign. It is to the credit of the distinguished professors of the State schools that when asked to give the Commission their views about the existing state of Secondary Education, instead of attacking the rival system from whose competition they most suffer, they used the opportunity to call attention to the very serious defects in their own. Both M. Ribot and M. de Lamarzelle's books, and likewise the book already mentioned of the Comte de Mun, are full of this subject. The testimonies thus collected would form matter by themselves for a very interesting article, but we must be content to summarize in a few words. It is acknowledged on all hands that the University with the Faculties and Schools under it are well staffed with high-class professors, who give brilliant lectures and classes. But, in dealing with boys, it is not enough to give lectures and classes, it is necessary to see that they learn what is taught, and this is a process much more difficult, and exacting much more from the teacher. Moreover, there is beyond intellectual training, the training of conduct and character, not to speak of religious training. The charge which these University witnesses bring against the system is that it breaks down egregiously in these last two matters, and that the root of the evil is in the anarchy which prevails throughout the administration. The staff of a *Lycée* consists of (1) the *Proviseur*, who is supposed to be at the head of all the rest, (2) the Professors, who give the classes, and (3) the *Repetiteurs*, who have charge of the boys out of class, which in an *Internat* means night and day. But of these, the Professors have usually small respect for the *Proviseur*, "regarding him as an intruder," says M. Gabriel Monod, if he interferes with their teaching, and frequently despising him as inferior to themselves in attainments. Thus his authority is small, and the more so as he is very dependent on the Rector of the Academy<sup>2</sup> above him, without whose

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Under the Supreme Council of the University, of which the Minister of Public Instruction is the Head, come the Academies among which the entire country is divided out. Over each Academy is a Rector, assisted by an Academic Council. The *Lycées* within its territory are subject to the jurisdiction of the Academy.



leave he cannot dismiss a member of the staff, or a pupil, or even provide a new text-book.

"As for the Professor," says M. Berthelot, "he gives his two hours, or at times his four hours, and then goes away. Outside his regulation hours he takes no interest in the education of his pupils." Of course Professors have promising pupils in whom they voluntarily take a special interest outside the schoolroom, but they feel no official obligation to do the same by the rest, especially by the duller ones. Lowest in the hierarchy of *Lycée* management come the *Repétiteurs*. These are what we should call the Ushers. They are the failures in the examinations admitting to degrees and professorships, and are accordingly looked down upon by the Professors above them, and in consequence by the boys under them. Moreover, their duties of supervision are naturally offensive to the boys, who call them colloquially, *les pions*. Their position is, in other words, one not without analogies in this country. Yet it is to these *Repétiteurs* practically, along with the more important part of the teaching, that the moral training of the boys is left over, there being none besides to concern themselves with it, except in so far as the Professors may give out opinions on moral matters according to their individual proclivities—for there is no received code on such matters among them. Is it wonderful that this system should have been described by some of the witnesses as amounting to "anarchy," and that M. Sigwalt, a Member of the Supreme Council of Public Instruction, should have summed up the final result in words which attracted general attention—"As for the great mass of the pupils, . . . if we abstract from the educative influence of the teaching we give them [in the classes], I have no fear of exaggerating if I say that they are children who, from a moral point of view, are entirely neglected (*enfants moralement abandonnés*)."<sup>1</sup>

It would be most unjust to lay the blame for these defects on the *personnel* of the State system. Individuals there are, of course, among them, who are blameworthy in different degrees, but M. de Mun voices, we believe, the general opinion of French defenders of the Free Schools when he says, "I do not wish to write a single word which may appear to be an attack on the University. I know how many eminent masters it can count, how many whose wills are ardent and generous. I do not wish to depreciate in any way their merits."

<sup>1</sup> See *La Crise Universitaire*, p. 51.

And indeed the evidence itself which they have so candidly given vindicates them in this respect most completely. "It is the system much more than the men," adds the Comte, "which is in fault." And the fault is one to which all State systems are liable, its true source being the lack of freedom left for personal initiative and the tight bands of red-tape which are almost unavoidable.

None the less it seems to follow from the Commission on Secondary Education—which, as we have said, is all in the way of substantiated facts on which the impending legislation can rely—that before M. Waldeck-Rousseau touches the Free Schools, he would do well to reform those of the State; and this is a consideration which is likely to be forced on him by his own supporters, hardly less than by the Catholics. Even parents who have small respect for religion may very naturally prefer the schools over which it presides to schools in which their children are doomed to be "morally abandoned;" and, in view of the evidence taken by the Committee, it seems more than probable that if he could purge the State system of these defects, he might draw back a certain proportion, perhaps a large one, of the boys who at present desert them, without increasing the difficulties in which his present campaign is sure to involve him.

But there is a further point, which he and his party might well consider. Of course if, as most of us believe, his real motive in attacking the Free School, is the wish, "*écraser l'infame*," to stamp out at all costs the Catholic religion, as a thing hateful in the eyes of his party, then it is intelligible why he should be doing as he does, though unintelligible why he should speak as he does. But if we take his words as sincerely meant, and credit him with a real distress at seeing the youth of France so sharply divided, to the danger of their country, into two camps and growing up with bitter sentiments towards each other, then he would do well to consider whether his present course does not tend to intensify the evil, and whether by a law sanctioning a genuine liberty of teaching and association, he might not remove it almost entirely, besides winning over the entire Catholic party to a cordial appreciation of Republican institutions. On this point we cannot do better than quote by way of conclusion to the present article, a passage from Père Burnichon in the *Études* for July 20th of this year:

If those who have created this new state of things and who fill the air with their trumpetings of liberty, would be so good as to give it to those who are not evil-doers and are guilty of no crime save that of not sharing their ideas; if all honest men, including Catholics, felt themselves truly free under the Republican *régime*, more free than under those other *régimes* which unfortunately have always taken away from the Church her independence in exchange for their protection, then, indeed, the task of morally uniting the nation would be more advanced. We should in that case be soon saying in all truth, "The Republic is the *régime* that divides us least, for it is that which gives us the most liberty." The most hostile and the most rebellious would lay down their arms amidst the enjoyment of a happiness so much desired and so little known. . . . No, Christian Education does not prepare enemies for Republican institutions. We do not raise the cry, "Vive la Republique," in our colleges, because we do not wish to be obliged to cry out to-morrow, "Vive la Commune," or even "Vive Cæsar;" and because we are bound to respect the opinions of the families which are not all of the same political convictions.

Nor is it otherwise in the *Lycées* and University Colleges. Let the Republic only remember its own device; let it assure to the Catholics Equality and Liberty; Fraternity will then come of itself, and Unity with it.

S. F. S.

## *Our Popular Devotions.*

### II.—THE ROSARY.

#### V. THE FIFTEEN MYSTERIES.

IN a former article it has been pointed out that the Bollandists, while rejecting the claim of St. Dominic to be regarded as the author of the Rosary, are far from disputing that we owe the devotion in its present form to the great Order which he founded. It is to the Dominican, Alan de Rupe, who died in 1475, that they assign the principal share in this development, and although they may have somewhat under-estimated the prevalence of the Rosary at an earlier date, there is overwhelming evidence to prove that their view is in substance correct. No doubt our Lady's Psalter of 150 Hail Marys, with its divisions into fifties and tens, with the Our Fathers and even with the meditations on our Lady and our Blessed Lord, was both known and popular before Alan's day. What is more, I am inclined to think that it was not until Alan had been dead a good many years that people began to say the Rosary quite as we say it now. None the less his name, it seems to me, must occupy the most prominent place in the history of this devotion, for it was he, aided by his brother Dominicans, who created the Rosary confraternities, and it was the confraternities which spread the practice of the Rosary far and wide and which gave it by degrees a certain measure of uniformity which hitherto it had entirely lacked. For a biography of Alan de Rupe we have no space, and indeed the materials are not abundant. Let it suffice to say that he was a Breton, a learned and eloquent man, the greater part of whose life was given to teaching theology. About the year 1470,<sup>1</sup> he believed himself to have been com-

<sup>1</sup> See Leander Albertus, *De Viris Illustribus Ord. Prædicat.* Bononiæ, 1517, fol. 150, r°. Alan at an early date appears to have become a kind of legendary personage, and is stated to have been born in Spain. A curious poem was written about him and about the Rosary in Danish, c. 1496. See *Præsten i Odense Hærr Michaels ; Om Jomfru Mariæ Rosenkrands.* Copenhagen, 1836.

missioned by our Blessed Lady in a vision to preach the Rosary devotion and to found confraternities. This he began to do with considerable success in the north of France, and in the Low Countries, writing also several short treatises on the subject. After his death in 1475, the same good work was carried on by his disciples and fellow-religious, and spread with extraordinary rapidity. The Confraternity of the Rosary appealed to rich and poor alike. Its very first rule excluded the idea of any contribution as a condition of membership. It was, moreover, endowed, or believed to be endowed, with the most extraordinary Indulgences,<sup>1</sup> while the deceased friends and relatives of members could be enrolled in it and made partakers of all its spiritual treasures. The popularity of such an association is not surprising. Within four months of its foundation at Cologne, in 1475, five thousand names had been inscribed on

<sup>1</sup> Already in the *Compendium Psalterii beate Trinitatis*, which beyond all question was written by Alan himself, and must consequently be older than 1475, it is stated, that an Indulgence of sixty thousand years was to be gained by the recitation of our Lady's Psalter through the grants of many Popes; and Alan declares that over and above this, other still ampler Indulgences were granted by God and our Lady herself: "Nam ibi sunt ad minus pro quolibet psalterio sexaginta annorum milia indulgentiarum plurimorum summorum pontificum, et ampliora ubi sunt Dei dona, prout beatissima temporibus istis revelavit Maria, que indulgentias has confirmavit. . . . Et, ut aiebat piissima hec mater Dei Maria, si pro causa temporalis et modico summi pontifices solent conferre maximas indulgentias, cur ego regina pietatis et domina cunctarum ecclesie indulgentiarum dare non potero indulgentias servitoribus meis in servitio pulcherrimo divinissimo et michi et filio meo semper amabilissimo." I quote from the copy in the Cambridge University Library (Press Mark, AB. 5, 119), printed, according to Copinger, in 1484, by G. Leeu, sig. D, 4, r<sup>o</sup>. I do not wish to pretend that these preposterous Indulgences were always paraded before the faithful by those who preached the Rosary; on the contrary, I am very glad to say that many of the really popular books and manuals (e.g., Lamsheim's *Libellus Perutilis*) quietly pass them over and confine themselves to statements which are relatively moderate, but that Alan himself announced the Indulgence of sixty thousand years it seems to me impossible to doubt. The popular book called *Unser lieben Frauen Psalter*, of which more anon, announces on its first page that it is extracted from the writings of Alan de Rupe, and any one who compares the chapter on Indulgences there with that in the *Compendium* and in the *Apologeticus* to Ferric of Tournai, will see the close connection of the three; but the German handbook omits all explicit mention of the sixty thousand years, though it clearly refers to it when it adds after the minor Indulgences mentioned: "Without counting the great Indulgence which Master Alan sets down in his treatise"—*On den grossen ablas den mayster Alanus setzt in seinem tractat*. Similar reference to this preposterous Indulgence is made in a volume edited by a Brigittine monk of Mai, near Nordlingen, *Libellus Perutilis*, &c., Augsburg, 1517. He says: "Ipse (i.e., Alanus) prout ponit maximas indulgentias antiquitus concessas dicentibus psalterium beate virginis quarum numerum hic ponere pretermisi, et hoc ideo ne tanquam servi simus deo nostro, spe premii magis quam filiali devocione servientes." (Sig. B, iii. r<sup>o</sup>.) As he makes no scruple about enumerating the other lesser Indulgences, it is obvious that the writer regards Alan's great Indulgence with distrust.

the register. By the end of the year there were fifty thousand, and the same authority, Michael Francisci, the friend of Alan, writing again in 1479, informs us that those enrolled in the confraternity at that date numbered five hundred thousand, adding, "and the register will contain yet more names, for it is growing and spreading from day to day throughout different provinces, cities and places."<sup>1</sup>

This prophecy was amply justified. Before the end of the century the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary had established itself in almost every part of Europe. The Order of Friars Preachers, fervent, learned, widely diffused, and powerful in high places, identified themselves completely with this new organization.<sup>2</sup> Alan de Rupe had declared that he knew, through a revelation vouchsafed to a certain spouse of the Blessed Virgin—all his contemporaries believed it to be himself—that St. Dominic had been specially charged by our Lady to preach the Rosary and establish such confraternities. Soon this became a cherished conviction in the Order. The Sovereign Pontiffs one after another granted Indulgences and privileges, not, be it noted, to the devotion of the Rosary as a devotion, but to the associates of the confraternity that specially took this obligation on themselves. Is it surprising that the practice of the Church at large should have conformed to the method of recitation which ultimately prevailed among the members of that great Dominican society?

Although the addition of five Our Fathers to the fifty Hail Marys seems to have been prescribed in the confraternity from the beginning, and although Alan de Rupe unquestionably recommended the practice of some kind of meditation, no sort of uniformity in the manner of saying the Rosary was reached for a long time. The treatises drawn up by Alan or founded upon his writings no doubt exercised great influence, but this must also have been to a considerable extent counteracted by a rather puzzling inconsistency. It is quite true that he directs that the first Rosary is to be said *in honour of the Incarnation*, the second to the Passion, the third

<sup>1</sup> Michael Francisci, *Quodlibet de Veritate Fraternitatis Rosarii* (Edit. 1477), fol. 5, v<sup>o</sup>, and (Edit. 1480) sig. B, v. v<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> As early as 1470 a formal act was drawn up by Father Excuria, Provincial of Holland, granting to the members of the confraternity participation in the good works of the Province. (See MS. Addit. 18838, fol. 20, v<sup>o</sup>, and cf. Echard, under Excuria.)

to Christ's Resurrection, Ascension, and Glory;<sup>1</sup> but the actual meditations are to be made rather after the manner of what St. Ignatius would call an application of the senses. Place yourself, Alan suggests, in this first Rosary before a representation of our Blessed Lady with the Child in her arms (*ubi parvulus Jesus intra brachia Matris erit liber tuus*), and go through all the members<sup>2</sup> of the Mother and Child, saying a Hail Mary to each, *salutando Mariam in ordine ad Filium*, greeting in Mary, for instance, the eyes that saw Christ, the ears which listened to His voice, the lips that kissed His cheek, and so on. In the second Rosary he tells us, "Thou shalt have for thy book a beautiful image of Christ, and thou shalt say one Hail Mary to the hair of our Lord that was torn out for thee, one to the crown of thorns, one to the wounded brow, one to the weeping eyes, one to the nostrils clogged with blood," and so on, passing from head to foot. In the third Rosary, on the Resurrection, he suggests that we should salute in order the perfections of God or the different saints in Heaven.<sup>3</sup> This on the whole, it will be seen, is almost more remote from our modern practice than the *clausule* of Father Dominic the

<sup>1</sup> See for instance the *Apologeticus* included in the *Sponsus Novellus*: "Prima quinquagena debet dici ad honorem Christi Incarnationis," &c. One of the tracts preserved to us, which even Father Danzas would not deny to be the genuine work of Alan de Rupe, is the *Compendium Psalterii* already referred to, printed under his name, together with the *Quodlibet* of M. Francisci as early as 1484. In this we read: "Hic autem sanctus Dominicus . . . maria virgine sibi revelante perdocuit psalterium hoc sic esse perorandum, scilicet ut prima quinquagena esset de articulis dominice incarnationis; secunda autem de articulis dominice passionis; tertia autem de dominica resurrectione et gloria atque de sanctis et virtutibus ac contra vitia, meditando unum articulum sub unoquoque *Ave Maria*. Et possunt dici istæ tres quinquagene vel simul vel divisim, puta mane vel meridie et vespere, aut ut melius possibile fuerit ad libitum. (Edit. 1488, sig. B, viii. v°.) In the *Sponsus Novellus* Alan gives an account of our Lady's charge to St. Dominic when she appeared to him: "Et sic tres jubilei sunt centum et quinquaginta quæ faciunt numerum psalterii mei. In quo prima quinquagena est de incarnatione filii mei candida et virginea. Secunda vero quinquagena est de passione filii mei rubicundissima et penosissima. Tercia autem quinquagena est de filii mei gloriosa resurrectione et deitate et sanctorum gloria clarissima." (Sig. A, iii. v°.)

<sup>2</sup> This meditation upon the members of our Blessed Lady, which Alan so strangely grafts upon the Rosary, was *really* an old Dominican devotion. Twenty Hail Marys used to be said with genuflections before a picture of our Lady, two to her eyes, two to her feet, one to her heart, &c. See the *De Laudibus Mariae*, among the works of Blessed Albertus Magnus, bk. ii. ch. v. n. 5. It is probable that this treatise is not by Albertus, but by Richardus a S. Laurentio; see Esser, *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 1884, p. 102. The devotion was not uncommon, and we find for instance a little booklet, *Andechtig und fruchtbar Lob der Glyder Marie* (Basel, 1492), given entirely to this exercise.

<sup>3</sup> *Compendium* (Appendix), 1488, sig. c, vii. r° and v°.



Carthusian. Still, Alan de Rupe leaves great latitude to the devotion of the faithful, and suggests sundry other curious methods.

A singularly, interesting little book is the earliest printed manual of the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary, drawn up by the famous Dominican, Jacob Sprenger (author of the *Mallens Maleficarum* and Grand Inquisitor), and printed at Cologne in 1476, the year after the foundation of the confraternity there. The associates have to say each week three Rosaries or chaplets (*Rosenkrants*), making one complete Psalter of our Lady of 15 *Paters* and 150 *Aves*. No practice of meditation is prescribed, but the members are told that, "after ten white roses, they must insert one red rose, which is symbolized by the *Pater noster*, in which we think upon the rose-red blood of Christ Jesus, which God our Father has willed to be shed for our sakes."<sup>1</sup>

This seemingly corresponds to a way of saying the Rosary which was very widely prevalent, and which was recommended as the "second method" in the handbook of 1489, called *Unser lieben Frauen Psalter*. In this second method there is no mention of mysteries, but we are simply told that "the fifteen *Paters* are to be said to the wounds and to the blood and to the pains of Christ; these are red roses in all three chaplets, and the *Ave Marias* are white roses throughout, said to the stainlessness of Mary."<sup>2</sup>

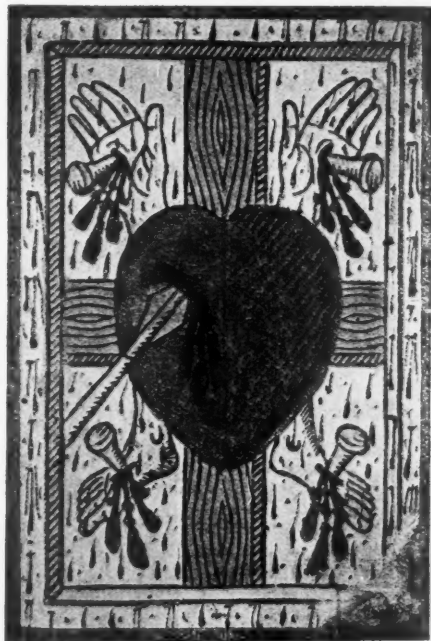
This explains the meaning of many curious pictures of the wounds and Sacred Heart of Christ which came into fashion at the close of the fifteenth century. Father Bridgett, in his *Dowry of Mary*, reproduces one such representation from an old English stained glass window, without, perhaps, quite appreciating its full purport. Another, here appended, is to be found in the Egerton manuscript, and like that already given above, it is coloured with red paint to represent blood. Upon such representations of the sacred wounds our forefathers would often fix their eyes in saying the Our Fathers of the Rosary.

But with the handbook just mentioned, the *Unser Lieben*

<sup>1</sup> "Das ist nach zehen weissen rosen setz er ein rote rosen entzieschen, welche in dem pater noster bedeutet wirt; in dem ein mensch betrachtet das rosen rott plut cristi jhesu das da von unser wegen unser vater got hat wollen vergossen lassen werden." (fol. 2 v°.) The book has no title. It begins with this caution in Latin: "IN SPIRITU PENSES HOC OPUS NEC LITERAM SPECTES." The latter part of this little volume is taken up with a sort of profession of faith and *commendatio anime* for the sick and dying.

<sup>2</sup> Sig. B, vii, r°.

*Frauwen Psalter*, we reach at last the first example of the mysteries as we know them now, in the shape of a set of rude pictures engraved to aid meditation. They were clearly a novelty to some extent in that little volume of 1489, which was intended for the use of the confraternity, but this is the exact form in which the meditations have survived to our own day. The very elaborate instructions which are printed to face



EARLY ENGLISH ROSARY PICTURE OF THE FIVE WOUNDS

in honour of which the five large beads of the Rosary were said.

(A woodcut preserved in MS. Egerton 1821.)

these woodcuts seem to suggest that the writer was teaching something he expected to be new to his readers.

"Now these pictures," he says, "which are printed on these three leaves, show you how you must say the Psalter of Mary. Notice that on the first leaf stand five pictures; these you may look at and meditate upon while you are saying the psalter; or else you may study the picture before you begin to

say the psalter. According to these you must arrange your psalter, and you must say one *Pater noster* and ten *Ave Marias* for one picture, and one *Pater noster* and ten *Ave Marias* for the next, and the same for the third and for the fourth and for



THE FIVE JOYFUL MYSTERIES OF THE ROSARY.

From the *Unser Lieben Frowen Psalter*.

Printed by L. Zeissenmair at Augsburg, in 1495.

the fifth picture, for each picture one *Pater noster* and ten *Ave Marias*. In this way you will have in the first part of the Psalter or in the first Rosary (*in dem ersten tail dess Psalters oder in dem ersten Rosenkrants*), five *Pater noster*s, and five times ten *Ave Marias*. These you must offer up and arrange according to the five pictures which stand on the first leaf,

either painted or printed; one *Pater noster* and *X Ave Marias* for each picture, as I have said."



THE FIVE GLORIOUS MYSTERIES OF THE ROSARY.

From the *Unser Lieben Frowen Psalter*.

Printed by Conrad Dinckhut at Ulm, in 1489.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The central picture in this group represents the triumph of our Lord's Sacred Humanity in Heaven. The two figures dimly seen below Him stand for our Blessed Lady and St. John Baptist. This we know from other precisely similar examples belonging to this period, in which full-length figures are drawn. One very interesting example of this subject may be seen in an early copper-plate engraving, pasted into the unique copy of Caxton's *Psalterium* at the British Museum and considered by experts to date from about 1450. I refer, of course, to the engraving, not the Psalter. The objects seen beside our Lord's Head are apparently a sword on one

Although the *Unser Lieben Frauwen Psalter* contains an announcement that its contents are "taken out of a little book made by Master Alan, of the Order of Preachers, concerning our Lady's Psalter," I am doubtful whether the fifteen mysteries and their pictures are to be referred directly to his initiative. No trace of any such selection of mysteries seems to be discoverable in his various *opuscula*, and if he really taught this method of saying the Rosary it is strange that we should find no earlier indication of it than the little German volume of 1489 published fifteen years after his death. Moreover in the book itself the pictures of the mysteries and the letterpress belonging to them seem to have been added somewhat as an afterthought, and rather contradict those portions of the work which show more directly the influence of Alan. The following passage, for instance, which may well be due to him, is not easily reconciled with the pictures.

How the Psalter of Mary is to be said :

This psalter has three parts or three rosaries (Rosenkrantz, rose-garlands). The first is to be said in honour of the Incarnation of Christ, and in memory of the joy which Mary had when the angel greeted her, when she conceived, when she went over the mountains to St. Elizabeth, when she brought forth Christ, when she offered her Son in the temple, *when He was circumcised, when the three kings brought their offerings, when He fled to Egypt, when He disputed with the Jews and was found again, in memory of His preaching, His labours, and His miracles.*<sup>1</sup> This first Rosary consists of L. *Ave Marias*.<sup>2</sup>

Still, there is much in this German book of 1489 which would seem natural enough to those familiar with the modern method of saying the Rosary. Thus in reference to the frontispiece which depicts three figures kneeling before our Lady and holding rosaries in their hands, this explanation is offered :

The first paternoster (*i.e.*, rosary or chaplet) is all white, and made of pure white roses. This rosary shalt thou offer to the Mother of

side and a (rose?) branch on the other. An exactly similar picture may be found in the *Andechtig Zütlögglyn des lebens und lidens Christi*, sig. BB, vii. v°. Basel 1492. In this, our Blessed Lady can clearly be recognized, and the object to the right seems to be a lily.

<sup>1</sup> This arrangement, while contradicting the pictures, is quite in accordance with Alan de Rupe's Rosary *per articulos* (*i.e.*, clauses added to the *Ave Maria*), the first five decades or Joyful Mysteries of which are largely taken up with the Public Life ; see *Sponsus Novellus*, sig. DD, ii. seq.

<sup>2</sup> *Unser Lieben Frauwen Psalter* (1489), sig. B, vi. r°.

God in her maiden purity, which she preserved in her bringing forth, and before her bringing forth, and after her bringing forth.

The second paternoster is all red, and signifies that the second rosary is made of pure red roses. This rosary shalt thou offer to the Mother of God in the heart-piercing sorrows she endured beneath the cross.

The third paternoster is golden, and signifies that the third rosary is made of pure golden roses. This rosary thou must offer to the Mother of God in her great joy which she had when in great joy and jubilation she passed to heaven above all the choirs of angels.<sup>1</sup>

But whatever may be the precise relationship between the writings of Alan de Rupe and the *Unser Lieben Frauwen Psalter*, there is every reason to think that the latter work, thanks to its pictures, its popular stories and its close connection with the Rosary Confraternity, must have exercised a great influence upon the spread of the devotion. Hain enumerates eight editions published between 1489 and the end of the century. Two of these only are in the British Museum library, but on the other hand, the Museum possesses a copy printed in 1502, of which, of course, Hain takes no note. From this time forward it is easy to trace the gradual prevalence of the division of our Lady's Psalter into fifteen mysteries. Among the Dominicans this arrangement seems to have soon become general and the large number of books written by them upon the Rosary naturally gave a strong bias to the devotion of the people. One may note for instance the popularity of such a work as that of Father Alberto da Castello, O.P., *Rosario della gloriosa Vergine Maria*, first printed in 1521 or 1522, a costly little volume, seeing that every one of the one hundred and fifty Hail Marys has a separate picture engraved for it, representing a distinct aspect of the mystery to which it belongs.<sup>2</sup> Of this there were a number of editions which seem to have been readily bought up. It is worthy of remark that the word "mysteries" in the sense now familiar, is used in this work, both by the author and by Antonio Contarini, Patriarch of Venice, who gives it his formal approval in a document dated April 5th, 1521.<sup>3</sup> This

<sup>1</sup> *Unser Lieben Frauwen Psalter*, sig. A, ii. v°. It is probable that the frontispiece referred to was meant to be coloured by hand.

<sup>2</sup> I notice that Lord Ashburnham's copy of the 1522 Edition is priced £22 in Quaritch's latest catalogue. Even the editions of 1551 and 1559 are valued at five or six guineas. Four different editions are in the Museum Library.

<sup>3</sup> "Ma perche tutto questo Psalterio in quindici mysterii de Christo e de la gloriosa Vergine Maria e restretto." (Fol. 2, v°.) "Lo primo rosario dicto gaudioso, il quale contiene cinque mysterii gaudiosi," &c. (Fol. 33, v°.)

meaning would not seem to have been familiar to Beysselius twenty-five years earlier.<sup>1</sup> Although none were so liberally furnished with woodcuts as Father da Castello's, several other Rosary books of the Dominican Order possess pictures of considerable merit. Such, for instance, is the work of A. Gianetti, O.P., *Rosario della Sacratissima Vergine Maria*, printed in Rome in 1573, such also was a similar book printed at Venice in 1540, though seemingly edited by the Dominican Fathers in Naples, such again at a somewhat later date was the *Viridarium Marianum* of V. Hensberg, O.P., published at Antwerp in 1615. All these present a separate engraving for each of the fifteen mysteries of the Rosary and follow that arrangement of the mysteries which is now universally familiar.

But the first initiative in the selection of just these fifteen episodes in the history of our Lady is due I believe to the compiler of the *Unser Lieben Frauen Psalter* of 1489, and owing to its many editions, the other methods of distributing the meditations, which were various and conflicting, gave way before it. A curious tribute to the influence of the book seems to me to be preserved in a little work printed at Augsburg in 1517, and entitled *Libellus perutilis de Fraternitate Rosarii*.<sup>2</sup> In this Confraternity Manual several methods for reciting the Rosary are explained, that especially recommended being the meditation on the five wounds (see the picture given above) or five principal sufferings of Christ. But towards the end of the book, returning to the subject, the author propounds a system of meditation by fifteen mysteries, and while his Glorious and Sorrowful Mysteries are identical with those now familiar, the Joyful are presented in this curious form:

<sup>1</sup> *Rosacea augustissime cristifere Mariæ Corona*. Antwerp, 1500. He has a long section headed, "De corone rosacea mysteriis," but it is devoted to examining the mystical significations of the word *corona* and *rosacea*.

<sup>2</sup> This book was edited in the monastery of the Brigittine monks at Mai, near Nordlingen, and I cannot make out whether it is or is not identical with the larger work of J. Lamsheim on the Rosary, to which he alludes in his little booklet, *De Confraternitate Rosary et Psaltery Beate Mariæ Virginis*, printed in 1495. The resemblance in title and contents is so great that I think Lamsheim must be the author of both, but strangely enough we are told that in the year 1505, the *Libellus Perutilis* was read in the refectory at Mai for correction, *coram cunctis fratribus*. If the date in the Museum copy, 1517, is correctly printed, there seems to have been a previous edition in 1507. See Panzer, *Annales*. The author was a sensible and moderate man. He tells us that meditation was not an essential part of the Rosary, *predictorum consideratio non requiritur de necessitate* (Lamsheim, 1495), and he remarks, "Sunt multi religiosi qui ad singula *Ave Maria* particulam de Vita Christi apponunt et devotissime orant. Sufficit autem pro simplici populo ut *Ave Maria* L et V *Pater noster* pretacto dicant modo." (Sig. B, iv. v°. Edit. 1517.)



1st, the Annunciation ; 2nd, the Visitation ; 3rd, the Finding in the Temple ; 4th, the Nativity, and 5th, the Circumcision. A reference to the picture of the Joyful Mysteries reproduced on an earlier page will, I think, explain this puzzling selection. The pictures of the Mysteries in all the editions of the *Unser Lieben Frauen Psalter* have neither names nor numbers attached to them, and the reader is left to interpret their meaning and order for himself. It seems to me clear that Lamsheim, or whoever was the author of the *Libellus*, has taken the middle picture of the Joyful Mysteries to be the third in order (in some of the other sets it *is* so), and has supposed that the picture in the lower right-hand corner represents the Circumcision instead of the Presentation.

But a trifling divergence of this kind at the beginning of the sixteenth century would have been little heeded. No one who has not himself studied the evidence can form any idea of the inconceivable variety of ways of saying the Rosary which were current among the faithful even where Dominican influence was strong, and that too as late as the middle of the seventeenth century. In England, down to the breach with Rome, if any system of meditation at all was used in saying the *Paters* and *Aves* of our Lady's Psalter, the Carthusian arrangement of *clausulae* seems to have been almost exclusively in vogue. Since my last article was written I have examined a large number of printed *Horæ* and *Primers*, *ad usum Sarum*, as well as a good many of those according to the use of Rome and Paris. In the English *Horæ*, beginning with the *Horæ* printed for Wynkyn de Worde in 1495, the Rosary nearly always finds a place, but it is invariably the Carthusian Rosary with fifty clauses, sometimes in prose as Dom Dominic wrote them, sometimes in a versified form. On the Continent the Rosary is not found in the *Horæ*, but we learn how it was said from the Confraternity Books and from numberless other manuals of devotion. As already stated, the diversity of practice is almost inconceivable. To give detailed references would only serve to occupy space and to make a useless parade. Suffice it to state that the manner of reciting the Rosary according to the five Wounds, already spoken of, seems to have been amongst the most prevalent of all, and that, secondly, when the life of our Saviour or our Blessed Lady was made the subject of meditation in saying the beads, the incidents were more commonly not distributed over the whole psalter of fifteen decades, but only over the single

rosary of five.<sup>1</sup> Thus Lamsheim, to take one instance, recommends that the Rosary should be said to the Five Joys of Mary, to wit the Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, Finding in the Temple, and Assumption. Even as late as the time of Father Arias, S.J., 1613, we find that he enumerates the Joyful Mysteries as the Annunciation, the Incarnation, the Visitation, the Nativity, and the Finding in the Temple.

It may be well to add that a considerable number of books in the early years of the invention of printing, which might seem from the mention in their titles of the "*corona*," or "*rosarium*," or "*psalterium*," &c., *Beate Mariæ* to promise something on this subject, have really nothing to do with what we now understand by the Rosary. But it would take too long to discuss the matter here.

#### VI. THE CREED, THE SALVE REGINA, THE GLORIA PATRIS.

It will be necessary to give rather a compendious account of those minor excrescences of the Rosary devotion, which are not generally regarded as essential, though they are nevertheless in common use among the faithful. First in order comes the *Credo*. This makes its appearance at a very early date. I have already referred in my previous article to the regulation in the statutes of Canterbury Hall, Oxford, of the year 1362, bidding the students say daily for the founder "quinquagies Ave Maria cum Pater noster et Credo ut moris est." This does not seem to me to imply that the *Pater noster* was said five times any more than it implies that the *Credo* was said five times, but the introduction of the *Credo* at all is noteworthy. Nothing seems to be said about the *Credo* by Alan de Rupe, Sprenger, or Michael Francisci, but it must clearly have become common to recite it in connection with the Rosary about this period, for Lamsheim, in his *Libellus Perutilis*, makes it very prominent. In explaining how the fifty Hail Marys, with the Our Fathers, make a true garland of roses (*Rosenkrantz*), he observes that the Creed should be regarded as the hoop upon which the whole

<sup>1</sup> That sumptuous work on Devotion to our Lady, the *Berchlossen Gart*, puts first among its many methods of saying the Rosary the consideration of our Lady's five Joys and Sorrows. The Joys are: (1) Annunciation, (2) Nativity, (3) Finding, (4) Ascension, (5) Assumption. The Sorrows are: (1) Prophecy of Simeon, (2) Loss of Jesus before the Finding in the Temple, (3) the anguish of our Lady when Peter and John came to tell her that her Son was taken, (4) the Crucifixion, (5) the taking down from the Cross.

construction is built,<sup>1</sup> and it should consequently be said first. From this time, I think, we find the *Credo* commonly mentioned even in the more distinctively Dominican manuals, and in a considerable number of those which are not of Dominican origin we find it enjoined that the *Credo* should be repeated with the *Pater noster* at the end of each decade,<sup>2</sup> and consequently should be said five times in the course of each Rosary.

The most interesting matter, however, connected with the *Credo* is the origin of the little terminal pendant generally consisting of two large and three small beads, having a little cross attached, which is found nowadays appended to almost all sets of rosary beads. It is commonly said that upon this pendant should be recited the *Credo*, with three Hail Marys for the virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity,<sup>3</sup> a suggestion which does not seem very satisfactory, and which appears to be neglected in practice by the vast majority of those who say the Rosary. Without pronouncing with absolute confidence upon this rather obscure point, I am very strongly inclined to seek an explanation of the difficulty in the wide prevalence at the close of the sixteenth century, and for long afterwards, of what was technically called the *Corona* of our Lady, a method of saying the Rosary upon a set of beads of sixty-three *Aves* and seven *Paters*, the number of the *Aves* being fixed by the years which legend has assigned as the age of our Blessed Lady at the time of her death. Few, I think, who have not looked into the matter, are aware how very popular this form of devotion, which is sometimes spoken of as the Brigittine rosary or indulgence, became in Italy, France, and many other countries in the seventeenth century. It required, of course, a rosary of six decades, and the three additional Hail Marys were supplied by three extra beads inserted between two larger beads for *Credo* and *Pater noster*. Here, therefore, we have the origin of the pendant, and there seems every probability, and indeed there is evidence to prove, that rosaries of six decades with the extra five beads were commonly carried by pious persons to be used on occasion either for the Dominican or the Brigittine rosary

<sup>1</sup> "*Credo* sane representat proprie das *reyßlin* oder die *schene*, i.e., illam circumferentiam in qua flores colligantur." (*De Confraternitate Rosarii*, 1495, sig. A, iii. v°.)

<sup>2</sup> See, for instance, the *Psalterium Gloriosissimæ Virginis Mariæ*, printed at Tergensee, 1580: "Habet quoque quinquies *Credo*—toties *Pater noster* et quinquagies *Ave Maria*;" or again, the Manual of Limoges printed by Mgr. Barbier de Montault.

<sup>3</sup> See Esser, *Unser Lieben Frauen Rosenkranz*, p. 30, who describes this pendant in highly poetical language as a sort of vestibule to the Rosary.

as devotion prompted. The result was that the extra beads became familiar as the terminal of an ordinary rosary, and when the Brigittine form went out of fashion, and the rosaries were commonly cut' down to five decades, the appendage was retained.<sup>1</sup>

Of course it is not to be expected that this theory will be accepted without some indication of the evidence on which it rests. Without discussing the matter fully, a few facts may be quoted to show the prevalence of this rosary of six decades. In the first place we have this very distinct statement from a writer at the beginning of the seventeenth century. He had lived abroad, and in Rome, and could have no motive for exaggerating. "An usual payre of beads," he says, "commonly consisteth of one Creed, three *Aves*, six decades, or six times ten *Aves*, and seven *Pater nosters*."<sup>2</sup> Again, Father Bridgett tells us<sup>3</sup> that a book of meditations composed by a prisoner in the Tower in 1584, and reprinted in corrected form with engravings, at Antwerp in 1590, speaks of "the corone of our Lady consisting of six decades followed by a seventh division of *Pater*, 3 *Aves*, and Creed." I do not know whether this book mentioned by Father Bridgett is identical with the *Rosarie of our Ladie* by T. W. P., printed at Antwerp in 1600, but a similar statement is made in this latter. A more detailed account may be found in the handsomely illustrated work of Father Bourgesius, S.J., *Sacri Rosarii Exercitationes*, printed at Antwerp in 1622.

"Our ancestors," he says, "were not satisfied with constantly reciting the Psalter and Rosary of the Mother of God, but they added to this the *Corona* which was intended to commemorate in one round of the beads all the years spent by our Lord or His Mother in this mortal life." The *Corona*, he further explains, consisted of six decades, with three Ave beads added to make up the number of sixty-three reputed to be the years of our Lady's life on earth.<sup>4</sup> Still more important is the

<sup>1</sup> After examining a large number of illustrated books of Dominican origin of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, I can say very positively that the five-decade rosaries there represented show no trace whatever of these extra beads. Similarly in an interesting painting on copper of the latter part of the seventeenth century representing our Lady presenting rosaries to St. Dominic and St. Catherine of Siena, in the possession of Lady Russell of Killowen, no pendants are seen. Neither are there any such pendants shown in the rosaries depicted in brasses.

<sup>2</sup> S. C[hambers], S.J., *The Garden of our Blessed Lady*, 1612, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> *Dowry of Mary*, p. 490.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit. pp. 269, seq. Father Bourgesius enters into further details as to the meditations to be used in saying this *corona*.

evidence of the *Libellus Precum*, the manual of the Sodalists of Mary used in the Jesuits' colleges throughout the world. This widely used prayer-book seems to contemplate nothing else but the use of a rosary of six decades. I have a copy of this *Libellus* lying open before me, printed at Liverpool in 1823 for the use of Stonyhurst College. A considerable section is devoted to the Rosary, and three or four different practices are suggested for its recitation, but that given in the first place and headed *Praxis Prima* provides a detailed method for reciting the *Corona* of sixty-three Aves. It is only in the *Praxis Quarta*, or fourth method, that the ordinary five mysteries are set down, and even then it is suggested that a sixth decade may be added in which the sodalist can repeat any mystery for which he has special devotion.<sup>1</sup> In saying the ordinary mysteries the three extra *Ave* beads are to be devoted to our Lady's special prerogatives as daughter of God the Father, Mother of God the Son, and Spouse of God the Holy Ghost. It is obvious that the writer supposes that every Jesuit scholar will be provided with a rosary of six decades with the usual terminal appendage of extra beads. In the Bull of Gregory XIII., making special arrangements for the persecuted Catholics in England to gain the Jubilee of 1575, they are required to say either the Rosary or the *Corona* of our Lady. This was not, I take it, a mere synonym for the Rosary.

This testimony is borne out in the strongest way by such archæological evidence as exists. Very little attention seems to have been paid by antiquarians to the archæology of the Rosary. Apart from Father Esser's paper read before the Catholic Congress at Fribourg in 1897,<sup>2</sup> almost the only article of the kind I have come across is one by Mgr. Barbier de Montault on certain rosaries exhibited at the *Exposition de Limoges* in 1891 or 1892. Of about a dozen specimens which he describes, none of them seemingly earlier than the seventeenth century, nearly half are of six decades and several have the little pendant with the four or five extra beads.<sup>3</sup>

It may be mentioned that the rosary which the present writer has carried in his pocket for twenty-six years, and which was made for him by a fellow-novice, originally consisted of six

<sup>1</sup> "Cum autem recitare voles *coronam* [italics in original] quæ constat 63 salutacionibus, in sexta decade iterabis et recoles mysterium quo tenerius afficeris." (Edit. 1823, p. 47.)

<sup>2</sup> *Zur Archæologie der Paternoster-Schnur.*

<sup>3</sup> See *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique du Limousin* (1892), pp. 107, seq.

decades, though as some doubt occurred concerning the validity of the Indulgence granted to such a pair of beads, he had one of the decades taken off.<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the *Salve Regina* very little need be said. It seems first to have been brought into connection with the recitation of our Lady's Psalter by the Rosary confraternities at the end of the fifteenth century, though it has never been regarded as forming an integral or necessary part of the Rosary itself. The confraternities made it a matter of rule to recite the *Salve Regina* in common on Saturday evenings and feasts, and from this it probably became a usual practice to terminate all their devotional exercises in the same way. Lamsheim, in his *De Confraternitate Rosary* (1495), remarks, "at the end of the Rosary, those who wish may say the *Salve Regina*."<sup>2</sup>

Lastly, we come to the *Glory be to the Fathers*, perhaps one of the most puzzling problems which the history of the Rosary offers for solution. It is quite curious to note how very recently this feature has been added. In none of the early books is the slightest reference made to it. The 1823 edition of the *Libellus Precum* makes no mention of these *Glorias* at the end of each decade, and they are equally wanting in a little Rosary Book I have come across, printed in Preston in 1767. So "*The Method of saying the Rosary of our Blessed Lady as it was ordered by Pope Pius V. of the Holy Order of Preachers, and as it is said in her Majesty's Chappel at St. James's, London, 1686,*" which was printed as a kind of appendix to the *Primer*, and also separately, completely ignores the "*Glory be to the Fathers*" at the end of the decades. In only one place is the "*Glory*" introduced, *i.e.*, at the end of the second rosary, that of the sorrowful mysteries, immediately before the *Salve Regina*.

<sup>1</sup> In the first edition of M. Francisci's *Quodlibetum*, printed in 1477, the following question is asked about the Rosary Confraternity;—the passage is omitted in subsequent editions.

"Tercium quodlibetum.

Utrum potior sit fraternitas de oratione dominica vel salve regina quam ista que est de salutatione angelica seu ave maria.

Dimissa comparatione illa de qua est questio, dico breviter ad istud quodlibetum quod hæc fraternitas est de tribus primo de salutatione angel. . . . ut patet, secundo de oratione dominica quia in rosario quinquagenario quinque pater noster et in psalterio mariano 15 dicuntur, quia post decem ave maria semper unum pater noster additur. . . . Tertio est hæc fraternitas de salve regina quia de sero in sabbatis, dominicis, festis et profestis sanctorum confratres habent interesse si possunt salve regina, si vero non possunt, debent ipsum dicere, vel loco ejus ave maria septies replicare, si honorum que tunc a confraternitatibus fiunt participes volunt esse." (Fol. 9, v<sup>o</sup>.)

<sup>2</sup> Sig. A, iii. v<sup>o</sup>.

The first books I have met introducing such *Gloria Patris* into the private recitation of the Rosary, belong to the seventeenth century.

The mystery of their very late appearance in this devotion, with which they have no connection and no visible *raison d'être*, seems to me, however, to be cleared up by an account which I have come across in the extremely interesting Spanish Rosary Book of Father Fernandez, O.P. *Historia de los Insignes Milagros*, Madrid, 1613. In chapter xxv. this writer gives an account of the manner in which the Rosary is said publicly in choir<sup>1</sup> in the Dominican church of the Minerva at Rome. The description is interesting for more reasons than one. The method adopted seems to be singularly suggestive of what might be done here in England to make the Rosary a more popular service than it is; the idea being both devotional and very simple. It was obviously the intention of the framer of the service to assimilate the devotion as much as possible to one of the minor offices of the Church, such as the Little Hours or Vespers. It began with the *Deus in adjutorium*, and then a hymn was sung. After that a point of meditation on one of the mysteries was read aloud and an antiphon was intoned. Then followed the *Pater* and ten *Aves*, which were either said or sung, the one side of the church answering the other side exactly as the psalms are sung in choir. Then to maintain the analogy of the psalms there was added the *Gloria Patri*, followed by the antiphon in full, with versicle and prayer. This process was repeated for each of the five mysteries, and the whole service concluded with another versicle and prayer, and with the anthem of our Lady varying according to the season.

It will be readily seen from this account how the "Glory be to the Father" has come to be introduced at the end of the decades through this artificially created analogy with the Psalms in the Office. It is probable also that the retention so commonly of the *Salve Regina* at the conclusion of the Rosary may largely be due to the influence of the same popular service.

In my concluding article next month I propose to redeem the promise given in October and to deal somewhat fully with the question of St. Dominic's connection with the origin of the Rosary.

HERBERT THURSTON.

<sup>1</sup> Del modo de rezar el santissimo Rosario en compañía a coros como se reza en la Minerva de Roma.



## *One Woman's Work.*

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### CHAPTER VI.

MEANWHILE Baldur Roy was the subject of conversation in another room in the same house. In Mrs. Venn's sitting-room—a sanctum into which no member of the family entered unbidden—she sat that afternoon with her eldest and favourite daughter, Lady Chetwynd, who, though scarcely ever a guest by invitation in her father's house, spent many hours there alone with her mother.

It was no privation to poor Edith Chetwynd to be unbidden to the family circle, for her conscience was sufficiently alive to make her shrink from contact with her younger sisters. Her painfully thin face and its hungry, driven expression, told that she was far from happy; and yet, according to her own account, her face told a lie. She eagerly denied that she was miserable, though she could not deny that she was ill; and yet she had no malady that any doctor could prescribe for. Although the slow consuming of her health by the sick, weary, hopeless wish that things were other than they were with herself and her children was, to all appearances, killing her by inches, no medicine could touch it, nor could any physician pronounce on it.

Her mother knew that she was not what could be exactly called a happy woman, but, being unable to appreciate the real cause of her daughter's misery, attributed it solely to the unpleasantness of Sir Grantley's temper, a quality which, though neither she nor Edith had discovered it in those halcyon days before the marriage, was now patent to everybody. His temper had never been a sweet one, but the events of his eight years' married life had further soured it. Though he met with but little resistance from his wife when, according to his previously avowed intention, he laid claim one by one to his children to be baptized and brought up as Protestants, her want of cheerful acquiescence gave a harshness towards her to all his actions.

concerning the children; and her uncomplaining misery and consequent ill-health were a constant source of irritation to him.

Three boys in succession had been thus baptized; but when—a year before the opening of this story—a little daughter was born, poor Edith made one futile stand. She wept and prayed most piteously that she might have this child to bring up as a Catholic; for in her heart she felt that if she could have even this one, her own faith might be saved. Then Sir Grantley turned savage, and the poor woman was hopelessly cowed, and sank into a state of servitude which she had not known before.

Although she had been married in a Protestant church, she had never entered one since, though circumstances and pusillanimity combined debarred her from hearing Mass. But now, Sir Grantley, whose hereditary and political Protestantism had gained strength in the combat, feeling the new power which his poor wife's baffled resistance had given him, began to insist on her accompanying him to church. The scandal, as he called it, of himself and his wife belonging to opposite religions was galling to his family pride and traditions; and the moral pressure which he brought to bear on her was considerable. Her nerves, already shattered by weak health, broke down completely under a nameless terror—of what she could scarcely say—accentuated, indeed, by the vague threats held out by her husband of removing her children from her influence, unless they could, as he termed it, come to an agreement. At last, as was to be expected, having lost hope, and feeling, perhaps, that having given up her children's faith, she had no will to keep her own, she yielded to his wishes. After this it will be understood that her thin, wan face spoke more truly than did her brave words.

"Baldur Roy is back, my dear," said Mrs. Venn. "I am glad for his poor mother's sake."

"What a nice boy he was," returned Edith. "I have not seen him since he left Oxford."

"Do you know," resumed her mother, confidentially, "I think he seemed taken by Maud."

"They are such old friends," replied Edith, cautiously; for she knew her mother's little propensity to jump at conclusions, and misconstrue any attentions paid to her daughters.

"Oh, but Maud was a mere child when he went away; and anybody could see how struck he was by her last night. He came back to her again and again, and was talking to her nearly all the evening, asking her every sort of question about herself

and all of us. But there, dear, I dare say the wish is father to the thought; for I cannot say how much I should like him to marry one of the girls. I think I love him almost like a son."

"Four years ago," said Edith, hesitatingly, "I thought Freda liked him a little."

"Freda? Well, if he means to choose between the two, he could not hesitate to choose Maud. It would be only to be expected."

"I don't know," replied Edith, doubtfully; "but, mama, I am not sure that Freda would marry him—being a Protestant, I mean." She spoke wistfully, as if her words contained the unexpressed wish that her sister would not do so.

"Oh, no; nothing of that kind," responded her mother, decidedly. "None of the girls have any of that sort of nonsense in their heads; though your father has become so particular."

"Poor. papa!" sighed Edith, using the favourite family epithet when speaking of her father; though she used it with even deeper meaning than his little champion Magdalen. At the time of her marriage she had been sorry to give him pain, though she had regarded its infliction as inevitable. Now, however, she understood better why he had suffered so much on her account; and her face grew grey and haggard at the thought. However, now, as often before, she cast off her gloomy feelings with a courage worthy of a better cause, and gave a ghastly smile. Suffer she must, but she was resolved to keep up her spirits. The time might come when she would be able to tell God that she was miserable, but it had not come yet, and she kept up appearances even in His Presence.

"But he will not interfere," pursued Mrs. Venn, after an anxious pause, during which she gazed wonderingly at her daughter. She was reassured by the smile on her face, the ghastliness of which she failed to see, though it might have saddened the poor woman's Guardian Angel. "There is no fear that he will raise the slightest objection, if matters can be arranged as he thinks right, and, as you know, dear, we could not arrange in your case; for he must see that it is quite out of the question for any of the girls to marry Roman Catholics. But, between you and me, my dear child, even if we cannot contrive for all those, what he calls, conditions, which hardly one sensible man in a thousand would think of agreeing to, I feel pretty sure that I should come round him with a little tact and management; though I think it wiser to say nothing about

it till the occasion arises. So I do not think we need trouble our heads about either of the girls—certainly not about Maud. If only—oh, dear me, Edith, I sometimes fear that that girl, Joanna, is going to cause a lot of trouble in the house!”

In spite of all remonstrances, Mrs. Venn always insisted on calling her niece Joanna, which was not, most certainly, the name given to her in baptism. There was something rather soothing to the aunt's injured feelings in the name, the very sound of which seemed to keep the girl at a distance, and put her in her proper place.

“Don't you like her any better than you did?” asked Edith, to whom the manner in which her mother confided to her her anti-Catholic schemes was exquisitely painful.

“I never did dislike her, dear. She is a quiet and really obliging girl; and though, no doubt, she is nice-looking, I do not think that any man would look at her twice if Maud were near; though perhaps she might do harm to Freda. To do the girl justice, she never puts herself forward. She is good-natured, and, in fact, she takes a great deal more trouble to oblige me than any of my own girls. No, I really do not dislike her, but——”

“But what? I can see that there is something that you do not like about her.”

“Well, the truth is,” replied Mrs. Venn, lowering her voice to an audible whisper, “I do not trust her.”

“Is she sly?”

“No, not that, I think. She is outspoken enough—at least, I think so. She seems to be open; but I don't understand her, and may be deceived even in her apparent candour, and must be on my guard. Sometimes I get a creepy feeling that she may have been given her part to play—by whom it is not for me to say, but possibly by her priests, for, ignore it as one may, one does hear very queer stories about their machinations, especially the foreign ones. Now, anything of that sort in a house like this might have really unpleasant consequences.”

“But I don't think your suspicions are at all likely to be true, mama.”

“Well, well, dear, I dare say you know best. I, thank God, have always been a Protestant, and accustomed to good, open, honest dealings, so I may be over-suspicious. But anyhow, she is too extreme. Of course she is a Roman Catholic, as you all are; and, placed as I am, I am the very last person to object

to her on the score of her religion ; but she insists on being a Roman Catholic after a fashion of her own ; and I cannot feel that confidence which I should like to feel that she may not try to introduce an extreme spirit into the family, which would be intolerable. That queer little Magdalen is much fonder of her than I care to see ; and I really must speak to mademoiselle, and see what can be done to stop further intimacy in a quiet way without causing any disagreeables ; for, my dear child, I assure you your father will not have anything said or done that could affront his niece. As for Swithin, he swears by her ; as of course he would in any case, out of sheer perversity."

"I thought Swithin improved the other day when I saw him."

"Yes, I must say, to do the girl justice, she has stirred him up a bit ; and if she never did anything worse I should not blame her. But she has such very extreme views of right and wrong that I am positively certain she might do harm about a marriage. It runs in her family. Her mother insisted on marrying that pauper artist, Loraine, just when her parents had laid splendid plans for her—and all because, forsooth, they had chosen a Protestant ! There are some people who will have their own ideas of right and wrong, and refuse to listen to the advice of those who are older and wiser than themselves—and Joanna is one of them. Well, I did all I could. I told your father my mind when he first spoke of having her here, but he would not listen to reason ; and if he lives to repent of his obstinacy, and finds out too late that he has nursed a viper in his bosom, and that this girl has injured his daughters' prospects, don't let him blame me, that's all !"

Edith made a sort of purring sound, which her mother accepted as an expression of sympathy, and resumed her discourse.

"Would you believe it, my dear," said she, "I hear from Fenwick that the girl gets up in the morning, before any of us are out of bed, and, never mind what amount of trouble she gives in the house, goes off to church ! In an establishment where it is not the custom to do that sort of thing, I must say it would be better taste on her part if she said her prayers in her own room ; but, as I said before, my tongue is tied about anything that concerns this girl, lest I should give offence to her uncle, and be supposed to treat her with harshness and unfairness. Just as if I would tolerate that sort of thing in one of my own girls !"

Edith did not reply even by an ambiguous purr. The idea of Joan's daily Mass kindled a thirsty longing in her heart, and awoke a dreary feeling of desolation at the thought of the many hopeless years that had passed since she herself had heard Mass or received any sacrament. In her longing she quite ignored how cheap she had held her faith and all its priceless treasures when she had them within her reach, discovering too late what it was she had spurned from her. She started from her torturing reverie to find that her mother was still talking.

"She ought to know that it is not the custom of the house," was what she was saying. "When, many years ago, your father tried to do the same thing, I put my foot down at once, and convinced him that it was unfair to upset the household for a mere fad; and he rarely goes now, except when we are at Brookethorpe, where it does not signify so much—nothing does in the country. But if he unfortunately finds out that Joanna goes, he is sure to try it again. Why, would you believe it, she has actually persuaded that lazy Swithin to go with her sometimes. It is of no use speaking to him, for he has quite emancipated himself from my control; but that silly little goose, Magdalen, cried and sulked for hours because I would not give in and let her go with her cousin. Now you can see my reason for dreading this girl's influence here, don't you, my dear child? Once you get a self-willed, unpractical spirit like that let loose among the children, you don't know where it will stop, or what folly may come of it."

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## CHAPTER VII.

MR. VENN was in his room, and, as usual when he was not out of doors or dragged from his sanctum to entertain uncongenial guests, quite alone.

The air that day was sultry and charged with electricity, which produced a peculiarly depressing effect on his nerves. He was sitting idle, for he had finished every available occupation. He had said every prayer that he was capable of saying, and he had read more of spiritual works than he was able to assimilate; his few business letters had been read and answered; the newspapers had been perused with more than usual minuteness; and there was nothing more that he could do.

Worst of all, he was deprived of the one pleasure and

consolation which he gave himself every day, and for which he specially craved this afternoon. Father Vandermeulen, his only friend in life, was out of town. Scarcely a day passed that Mr. Venn did not at a certain hour wend his way across the park, and waste an hour of this priest's time for him. Though unattached to any mission, Father Vandermeulen was a busy man; and often, no doubt, he groaned in spirit when he heard Mr. Venn's familiar tones asking for him: but if so, he never betrayed his feelings. If there was one person in the wide world whom he pitied more than another—far more than any felon in his cell or cancer-patient in a hospital—that person was Augustine Venn. The great loneliness of his life, his utter inability to do the things he wished to do, and his broken-down dependence on the sympathy he could never bring himself to seek from any one except him—all this appealed to the busy priest's compassion, and made him ready to sacrifice more, if necessary, than a daily hour of his precious time.

But this afternoon there was nothing that the poor man could do. Father Vandermeulen was hopelessly out of reach; and in the absence of all comfort, Mr. Venn gave himself over to low spirits which, in spite of his brave little efforts, at times completely mastered him, with an intensity which had in it almost a touch of insanity. Whenever he was in one of these depressed moods, there was but one subject which occupied his thoughts and weighed on his mind. The spiritual state of his family, each member of which he morbidly pictured to himself as sliding down an inclined plane, away from the Church and all that was good, was enough sometimes to crush him to the ground. He was keenly and shrewdly alive to all that was undesirable in his children's lives; but when he was low-spirited he was quite incapable of seeing all that was good in them, and how, in spite of the most unhealthy conditions, grace, on which they so charily drew, was working in them, and keeping them comparatively unsoiled by their surroundings. Having dismissed the thought of Neville and Edith with a sigh, or rather with a prayer such as he invariably breathed whenever a vision of them crossed his brain, and with a contrite backward glance at his own long-ago repented negligence and weakness about them, he let his mind dwell despondingly on the rest of his children, who had by no means cast themselves adrift from the Church, but whom he always contemplated in the act of drifting.



The chief cause, however, of his low spirits that sultry July afternoon was his consciousness of how little use he could be or ever had been to his children. He knew that he was ready to give his life's blood for them, for he was quite alive to his responsibilities. Nevertheless, he knew that he—their Catholic father—who ought to be able to do so much for them, was by his own want of capacity, utterly useless and—as he put it to himself—might just as well have not been there. He was quite aware that they had picked up all the religious knowledge they possessed, indirectly, through governesses and nurses, and probably knew next to nothing; yet he, who was in his way quite a theologian, could not bring himself to be their instructor. He had once, after Edith's marriage, made up his mind, at the cost of several sleepless nights and nervous days, to undertake the religious instruction of Freda and Maud, who were then in the school-room; and the memory of his first and only attempt would go with him to the grave. As he had sat with his two daughters in front of him, both looking as uncomfortable and out of place as himself, his head swam, he could not recall one point of his carefully prepared lesson, and, after ten minutes of ineffectual effort, he had dismissed the tittering girls, never to repeat the experiment.

Even when he had opportunities thrust on him he felt like one paralyzed, and could not avail himself of them. Even to little Magdalen, the joy of his lonely heart, he never knew what to say, and therefore said nothing, though he knew that the little creature would welcome and treasure as wisdom every word that he could bring himself to utter. Nevertheless, he was quite impotent to utter the word, though he had an inward conviction that the wisdom need not be quite absent from it. He sometimes wondered whether this inability to stir himself up to use his faculties for the benefit of his children, and the complete want of initiative which, had he not been a religious man, might have driven him to despair, did not in reality arise from some form of madness. He was like a man who in a nightmare seems to be fast stuck in a quagmire, and is sinking, sinking, while the means of safety are within his reach, though, when he tries to move his limbs to grasp it, he feels his muscles to be quite powerless.

This weakness and uncertainty which dominated Augustine Venn were no doubt the mere effect of physical temperament, and had he lived under a different sky, would not have been so

painfully developed. His life was made up of labours and duties beyond his strength. Nature had intended this feeble specimen of humanity to grow in sheltered nooks and balmy climate; and there it would have thriven and done good work; but, by his own and his parents' will, he had been exposed to the most nipping east wind conceivable, and was shrivelled up into a practically useless nonentity. He bore all the characteristics of the last of a long line. By the mercy of God, he was virtuous: had he been vicious he would have been a terror to the world.

As he sat brooding thus morbidly, he felt as if he understood what the temptation might be to a man who had no faith in God, and whose life was a hopeless failure, to take the law into his own hands, and deprive himself of an existence which seemed to be useless. Of course, the thought never approached him as a temptation, but the very idea filled him with such self-pity that he laid his head on the table, and might in another minute have burst into impotent tears, when comfort came to him from a least expected quarter.

A knock at the door and a "Come in" from his own lips followed each other in such rapid succession that no one could have guessed that in the interval Mr. Venn had sprung from his chair and seated himself at the writing-table, where he appeared to be busily engaged examining a file of bills. The door opened, and Swithin wandered listlessly in, looking more ungainly than usual, although his mind was full of a resolution which his shy reserve would not allow him to betray by his outward demeanour.

"I say, father," he said, standing at the other side of the writing-table, and cracking his finger-joints nervously, "I want to do something. I don't think a fellow ought to be idle all his life."

The blue veins on Mr. Venn's temples stood out and throbbed visibly; for the subject broached by Swithin was one from which he shrank with real terror. The lives and futures of his daughters might weigh like lead on his mind; but, whenever he contemplated those of his sons, fear mastered him. He had yielded to his wife, and plunged Nevile into the wicked world, with what results all knew; and in reactionary terror he had guarded Swithin from every breath of the outer air, trying not to see that he had nearly reached manhood, and could not be kept in a hot-house all his life.

"But what, Swithin, what?" he asked in a tremulous voice.

"Well, father, that is just what I want to know; and I want you to help me," replied the boy, obeying Joan's request to consult his father, though he had already made up his own mind. "In one way," he went on, after waiting a few moments for a reply, "I should like to pack up my traps and emigrate, but I don't wish to do that," he added quickly, perceiving a look of real fear sweep over his father's face; "for I do not think I am quite the sort to make my way; and I should drift into idle ways out there, and get starved into the bargain. It is no use my trying for any billet that wants much brain-work, for I have not got it in me; and as nothing is to be got now-a-day without competition, it is like condemning myself straight off. So what do you think, father?"

"I don't really know," replied Mr. Venn, slowly. "You see, my dear boy, as a Catholic there are so few things open to you."

"That is just the point, father," cried Swithin, the manliness in him asserting itself. "I don't see why that should stand in the way. I don't mean it to weight me. I think, on the contrary, it ought to help me."

"But how, my dear boy, how?"

"Well," replied Swithin, colouring, and giving a nervous sort of laugh, "I think one has a better chance of being shoved along behind the scenes."

"Quite right, my dear boy, quite right," said Mr. Venn, affectionately and tremulously, reaching across the table to pat the red hand which rested on the edge, nervously toying with a paper-cutter. Nevertheless, he did not dare to trust himself to believe the hidden sense of his son's words. "But how about practising your religion? For we must think of that, you know, my boy. There are so many professions which bring with them terrible temptations, and remove you entirely from Catholic influences, so that I—oh dear me, what ought I to do? I always tell myself that perhaps if poor Nevile had not been thrown so entirely among Protestants, he would not have done what he did."

"If Nevile had had his religion thrown at his feet, he would not have stooped to pick it up," replied Swithin, contemptuously. He did not love his elder brother, and had always smarted under his mother's undisguised preference for her first-born, as well as under the invidious comparisons drawn by foolish people between the two brothers. "But never mind Nevile, father," he

went on. "What I feel about myself is that this idle life I am leading is more likely to send me to the dogs than any other. Let me get my hand at something, and even if I have to live with no one but Protestants, and even sometimes out of reach of a church, I don't see why I need go adrift, do you, father? After all, I am a Catholic, and I have got lots to help me that other fellows have not got. Let me try to keep my head straight, and," he added, quickly and nervously, "and leave the rest to God. It is not for nothing that I am a Catholic"

Mr. Venn's pale blue eyes filled with tears, not of distress, but of thankfulness. Here was his son, who he had taken for granted had little or no faith, and no attachment whatever to the Church, filled, after all, in his rough way with the same spirit as himself. He looked up at Swithin, and his poor banished heart expanded, though all the words he could falter out were: "Thank God."

Swithin, dull as he was, perceived what was going on in his father's mind, and, yielding to a happy impulse, went round the table, and laid his big hand lovingly on Mr. Venn's shoulder.

"Dear old father, will you help me?" he said. "I know you are always saying no end of prayers for me and the others; and I am a beastly, ungrateful cad."

"Good boy, good boy," said Mr. Venn, a little incoherently, stroking his son's hand violently. "I am always so afraid of bothering you children, that I don't talk enough to you—I always feel it—I don't talk as much as I ought."

"No, father, not half enough," replied Swithin, tenderly and protectingly. "I wish you did. You see if we Catholics do not hang together, the house will come down." Swithin did not quite know what he meant by these words, but apparently his father understood them, for he patted his son's hand more rapidly and approvingly than ever, and said: "Quite true, my boy."

"Well now, father," pursued Swithin, who shrank from a prolongation of the scene. "What I propose is this: I have thought it well over. If I have a turn for anything, it is mechanics; and, take it all round, I am not such a duffer at mathematics as at other things. Now, a fellow I know (Mr. Venn winced, for he had not thought that Swithin knew any 'fellows') is the son of the head of a great marine engine-factory; and he thinks, or at least is sure, that if you will fork out something—I don't know yet how much—I could be taught the business. I should have to begin at the bottom of the

ladder, you know, with fustian and tools and all that sort of thing ; but I should like that, if you and my mother don't object. That stage won't last for ever, and after a bit I shall move up a step, especially if you will help."

"Let us think it over a bit, my boy."

"All right, father, but don't look too much at the cons. Stick to the pros as much as you can."

"And how about your mother?" asked Mr. Venn, nervously. Swithin swallowed the words which sprang to his lips, to the effect that she would not care two straws what he did, and replied with much self-restraint:

"I don't think my mother will mind, for she wants me to be doing something: and lots of fellows are doing this sort of thing now. She might not like the fustian part of it, but I will keep that at the shop, you know, and if she doesn't see it she will not mind. And as for you, father, you see I can live at home, and get my Sundays with you, so you will not feel it so much."

Contrary to her husband's anticipations, Mrs. Venn entered into Swithin's plans. She knew that the style of work contemplated was by no means degrading; indeed she considered it almost aristocratic, for a young man of her acquaintance, one of Maud's partners, who was great-nephew to a marquis, had adopted it as a profession. Thus she combated Mr. Venn's worldly scruples, while Swithin, aided by Joan, combated those which were unworldly. The upshot of it was that before the family left London for Brookethorpe, Swithin had made a start in his new life.

Even the making up his mind had braced and developed the boy; and he started on his new career in a very Christian and manly spirit. It is probable that in all his life Mr. Venn had experienced no happier or more thankful moment than that when, on the morning of his son's start, they knelt side by side at the altar, and received Communion together.

## Reviews.

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### I.—THE HOLY YEAR OF JUBILEE.<sup>1</sup>

NOW that the Jubilee is drawing to its close, there are many who will be glad of the opportunity Father Thurston gives them of learning all about the history and purpose of the great act in which they have been taking part, and the places and objects of devotion they have seen. Nor is it only returning pilgrims to whom *The Holy Year of Jubilee* will be acceptable. The subject is one which has its historical, antiquarian, and theological, as well as its devotional sides, and Father Thurston has spared no pains to elucidate them all in the most thorough manner. He has also added an abundance of historical illustrations, many of which are very valuable. In short, he has produced a book which is likely to remain for some while the classical work on Jubilees.

In the earlier chapters we have an account of the principal Jubilees from that of Boniface VIII. in 1300, with its curiously spontaneous origin, to the Jubilees of the modern period, and in this portion, Father Thurston discusses the origin of the ceremony of opening the Holy Door. It has hitherto been the received opinion among the historians, from Bonanni and Zaccaria down to Gregorovius, that the ceremony was first introduced by Alexander VI. in the Jubilee of 1500, being the invention of his Master of Ceremonies, John Burchard. What, however, Burchard tells us in his diary is that there was a tradition that a particular door at the Vatican otherwise walled up used to be opened every hundredth year, but that on examination it turned out that there had never been a door at all in the place indicated. Father Thurston's researches enable him to call attention to many pieces of evidence which show not only that the tradition of which Burchard speaks had its certain roots in the past, but even that a Golden Door was certainly opened in 1450. Thus, to cite only one of his witnesses,

<sup>1</sup> *The Holy Year of Jubilee.* By Herbert Thurston, S.J. London : Sands and Co.

Giovanni Rucellai, a Florentine merchant, who went himself to the Jubilee of 1450, says explicitly in his account of his visit that at St. John Lateran's "of its five doors there is one which is always walled up except during the Jubilee year, when it is broken down at Christmas when the Jubilee commences," and he goes on to describe how the people out of devotion collected fragments of the demolished wall and carried them off to the most distant countries. It will be noticed that here the door, which is apparently the only door the Florentine merchant knows of, is at St. John Lateran. But Dr. Paulus, in the *Katholik*, has called attention to the *Römbuchlein*, published somewhere about 1475, which states distinctly that there was also a Golden Gate at St. Peter's.

The pilgrims, we know, have to pay visits to the great Roman Basilicas. This gives Father Thurston the opportunity which he uses in chap. v. to give an interesting account of these venerable churches and the famous relics which form their treasure and are displayed before the pilgrims. Among these relics are the two alleged portaits of our Lord, the one attributed to St. Luke, the other to a miraculous impression on the cloth with which a woman named Veronica wiped His face during the Way of the Cross. Here we may single out for notice that our English mediæval chronicler, Giraldus Cambrensis, testifies that the former was called the *Uranica*, a name for which Father Thurston thinks there is no other authority extant.

It has been often charged against the Popes that in proclaiming the Jubilees they were not much moved by the wish to confer a great spiritual benefit on the world, but chiefly by the hope of enriching themselves with the offerings of the pilgrims. Father Thurston furnishes ample evidence that this notion is not well founded. Thus, according to the popular story, at the Jubilee of 1300 the offerings of gold and silver were so numerous that two clerks with rakes had to be at work day and night gathering them in. But it seems that these offerings though numerous were in the smallest coins current, being the gifts of the poor. Hence the total sum collected was not excessive, nor did any of it pass into the Papal purse. Cardinal Stefaneschi, who was living and at Rome at the time, tells us that all was spent on the fabrics of the Roman churches, and on the necessary endowment for their clergy. A similar allocation of the offerings was followed on subsequent occasions—that is at Rome itself. In post-Reformation times, the expenses



which fell upon the Roman authorities were heavier than the incomings, owing to the necessity of maintaining the multitudes of poor people who came flocking in. That occasional evils and even scandals should have resulted from the confluence of vast crowds into one city, could only be expected, but that the Jubilees have been the source of incalculable good is beyond doubt. Father Thurston quotes abundant testimonies to this effect from visitors to Rome on such occasions. In addition, too, to the directly spiritual fruits gained by the pious exercises under inspiring surroundings, he points out the advantage which it must have been to persons coming from different parts of the world to see the wonderful charitable institutions of every kind, for which Rome was celebrated. One chapter in the work before us is given over to the illustration of this point, and is well worth studying. Some of our friends are very confident now-a-days that Catholicism spells backwardness, Protestantism progress. But even if that were true of the present day, two centuries ago at all events the superiority lay the other way. Most interesting in this respect are the accounts of visitors to Rome such as Richard Lassals, and John Evelyn in the seventeenth century, or Dr. John Moore, a century later. Sir Fynes Moryson, another traveller of former days, is struck by the superiority of the Romans over the English in the matter of cleanliness, so different to what he found at home!

In another chapter Father Thurston explains, in reply to Mr. H. C. Lea, the nature of Indulgences, and the meaning of the phrase *a pœna et culpa*.

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## 2.—THE REAL FRANCIS XAVIER.<sup>1</sup>

The sublime story of the Apostle of the Indies cannot be too often told, least of all when the narrator is no mere compiler, expurgating, embroidering, and making edification after the manner of his kind, but rather a searcher of unremitting industry whose good fortune it has been to dip deep into unpublished materials and whose greatest difficulty in putting together these volumes has lain in the sheer *embarras du choix*.

<sup>1</sup> *Saint François de Xavier: Sa Vie et ses Lettres*. Par L. J. M. Cros, S.J. 2 vols. xevi. and 1046 pp. Toulouse: E. Privat, 1900.

*Monumenta Xaveriana* (pp. 1,030), 1899—1900, forming part of the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*. Edit. P. C. G. Rodeles. English Agent: D. Nutt, 270, Strand, London, W.C.

We have spoken in the headline of this notice of the "real Francis Xavier," and we believe that the contents of the volume before us fully justify the phrase. It is not that the portraits traced by previous biographers, and notably by Father Coleridge, have all been untruthful—they are correct enough as far as they go—but only that Father Cros's delineation seems to us firmer sharper, clearer. He has worked in a better and stronger light, and he has had the courage to make a clean sweep of much unnecessary and disfiguring varnish which has been applied by the mistaken devotion of his predecessors. When Father Coleridge decided upon incorporating in his *Life* the bulk of St. Francis's letters, he made a most important new departure, and, needless to say, a step in the right direction. But then he was hampered by obstacles, at that time insuperable, with regard to the text of these same letters. For the most part he followed the French version of M. Léon Pagès, which he warmly commends in his preface. Now, M. Léon Pagès, in default of the originals, translated from the Latin of Father Poussines, while Father Poussines himself in many cases was probably not working from the autographs of the Saint, but from copies, abstracts, or even a Spanish or Italian rendering of letters written first in Portuguese. Hence for the epistles which appear in Father Coleridge's pages, we have sometimes this kind of pedigree—Portuguese *genuit* Spanish, Spanish *genuit* Latin, Latin *genuit* French, French *genuit* English. In the last few years, however, owing to the great diligence of archivists like Senhor J. Da Camara Manoel, and private inquirers like Padre Rodeles and Père Cros himself, great progress has been made in the discovery and correction of the original text of the letters. Among the manuscript collections at Lisbon and at Rome early and authentic copies have been found, which preserve the Saint's actual words in Spanish or Portuguese, even where his own autograph is not forthcoming. These are being published with an elaborate critical apparatus in the *Monumenta Historica* of the Spanish Jesuits, but Father Cros had previously and independently copied them, and he has translated the bulk of them most skilfully and carefully into French in the present work. For the most part one finds that the general purport of the letters is given in the traditional version correctly enough, but in point of language the transformation which some of these epistles have undergone deserves to be enshrined among the curiosities of literature. It is like a game of Russian scandal, except that here the facts remain

intact, and it is only the manner of telling them which has grown out of all recognition. An amazing illustration on a large scale is supplied by Father Cros in the preface to his second volume. The letter written by St. Francis to Father Gaspar Barzæus, dated 15th April, 1552, contains in the original Portuguese about 1,500 words. In the Latin version of Father Poussines it is expanded into about 4,000 words. In M. Léon Pagès it has grown into nearly 5,000 words, and this is also as nearly as possible the measure of Father Coleridge's translation of Léon Pagès; if anything, Father Coleridge's is the shorter. A few sentences may be quoted to show how the expansion compares with the original. St. Francis is insisting that in the dissolute Portuguese towns like Goa the missionaries should not visit women in their houses except in case of illness. Here is paragraph iv. of this letter in the version of Father Coleridge, that is to say, properly speaking, of Léon Pagès:

On this point again it is necessary to be very careful even with those who are most seriously ill, not to multiply the visits of any beyond what is required by urgent necessity. And altogether you must be severe in this matter, cutting things, as we say, down to the quick, so as to suppress and make as rare as possible for our brethren all communication with that sex, these interviews being of little profit and very great danger, the uncertain hope of a generally moderate benefit to the divine service, being only too often purchased with the doubtful chances of losing innocence and fair fame.

It will hardly perhaps be credited, but what St. Francis actually wrote was this, and this only:

Such visits [*i.e.*, even in case of illness] you should pay as little as possible, since much is risked by them and little is gained for the advancement of the service of God.<sup>1</sup>

And this rate of expansion is maintained, more or less uniformly, throughout a long letter, which even in the original occupies five octavo pages! Of course this is quite an exceptional example, but even where the writer's thought is less obviously smothered in empty verbiage, we cannot help feeling at times that we are a long way off the real St. Francis. Father Cros has carried the practice of quoting from the letters and of making contemporary witnesses tell the story in their own words to an extent which some will judge to detract from the literary form of his book. For our own part we must confess

<sup>1</sup> "Ho menos que se poder se farão estas visitas, porque se aventura muito e ganha-se pouco em acresemtar ho serviço de Deos." (*Monumenta Xaveriana*, p. 924.)

that we are pleased with the result, and that we rather like his habit of introducing scraps of the original Portuguese or Spanish into his translations, a practice for which he apologizes in his preface. Obviously, however, this would not be the verdict of every reader. Again, Father Cros has sometimes, we think, allowed his passion for the *inédit* to interfere with the due perspective of such a portraiture, if it is to be criticized as an ordinary biography. It is hard not to sympathize thoroughly with his scholarly aversion to print over again what is already well known and accessible in every Life in common use, but on the other hand we fear that the ordinary reader will not be pleased to find important letters of the Saint given only in summary in order that space may be found for new information about his kinsfolk or his companions, or for letters written to him, which as appearing for the first time are printed often at full length.

But even as it is, Father Cros has made many sacrifices to his publisher and to the general reader, and it would not be fair to ask too much of him. We are glad also to learn that a great part of the materials not here utilized will see the light in a second and perhaps a third volume of *St. François de Xavier, son pays, sa famille, sa vie—Documents nouveaux*, the first volume of which appeared some years since. Also it must be said that amongst the new materials which he has incorporated in the work before us many facts are of the highest interest. Hardly any episode, for instance, in the Saint's career is more frequently quoted by ascetical writers than what some of them regard as his sublime example of detachment in refusing to visit his mother before sailing for the Indies. Father Cros has been, we think, the first to point out that this legend is not authentic, for the simple but sufficient reason that his mother had been dead some years at the time when the incident is supposed to have happened.

Neither must we omit to say that our author really disarms all such criticism as we have offered by disclaiming the intention of composing any final or adequate Life of the great Apostle of the Indies. He speaks most modestly of himself as furnishing only a part of the materials from which when the proper time shall come the future biographer will compile his history. Be that as it may, we consider that Father Cros, in spite of some obvious shortcomings, has enabled his readers to obtain a clearer conception of the real Francis

Xavier than any of the more formal biographies at present in existence.

Before quitting this subject it seems desirable also to call attention to the admirable edition of the original text of St. Francis Xavier's letters in Spanish and Portuguese, which has just been completed by the Spanish editors of the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu* under the direction of Father Rodeles. In some points of detail Father Cros and his Spanish brethren in the Society are not entirely agreed. The latter have thought it a duty to study completeness by including a certain number of documents which Father Cros regards as mere abstracts or rearrangements of the Saint's authentic epistles,<sup>1</sup> but there can be no question as to the scholarly character of these *Monumenta Xaveriana*, which include moreover an early unpublished biography of the great missionary. In any case the large experience which the Madrid editors have gained in producing the fifteen volumes already issued of their splendid series must give very great weight to the conclusions at which they arrive.

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### 3.—FATHER CHARLES PORÉE, S.J.<sup>2</sup>

The name of Père Charles Porée may not convey an idea to many of our readers, but he was sufficiently remarkable in his quiet way to merit the biographical study which a member of his own Order has devoted to him. He was Professor of Rhetoric in the great College of Louis-le-Grand for thirty-three years, between 1708 and 1741, and among the personalities famous in French history who passed under his tuition—Fron, Diderot, d'Argenson, Bernis, Turgot, Malesherbes, and many others—the most famous, if the least satisfactory, was Voltaire. Père de la Servière has not found much to tell about Porée's personal life. It was not, as he pleads, to be expected that he should. Its external aspects were confined to Porée's dealings with his pupils whilst they were with him, or when they came back to visit him in after-days, for he seldom paid visits himself, or engaged in any other employments. Once only was the tranquil routine of his life disturbed, when he was drawn unexpectedly into a polemic with a Jansenist. Nor does there

<sup>1</sup> See Cros, Preface to vol. ii. pp. xxvi.—xxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> *Un Professeur de l'Ancien Régime. Le Père Charles Porée, S.J. (1676—1741).* Par le Père J. de la Servière, S.J. Paris: Librairie Oudin.

appear to be much extant from which we can learn the inner history of the man, nothing save a few appreciations of character, from which we learn among other things that his way was to be singularly amiable and gentle with his pupils, and to try and draw them out even at some cost to discipline, by making himself easy of approach to them. With what a searching eye he watched their mental development to discover any dormant talent that might need fostering, may be illustrated by his treatment of one who ill repaid his efforts, Claude Helvetius. This boy passed for having very mediocre abilities, but when he came under Porée, the latter soon detected in him the germ of a brilliant literary talent. Having detected it, he at once proceeded to bestow much time and solicitude on its cultivation, giving the lad private lessons on the beauties and defects of the classical authors, and so laying the foundations of his after-success. An illustration of his disposition to treat with the utmost forbearance the vagaries of former pupils, that he might preserve his influence over them and use it for their good, and indeed of his tendency to carry this complaisance to excess, may be obtained from his relations with Voltaire. These were kept up to the end of his life, for it was not till 1759, when the publication of *La Pucelle* elicited a stern protest from the Jesuits in their *Memoires de Trevoux*, that the spiteful author began to pour out the vials of his wrath and ridicule on his old masters. Till then he had multiplied his expressions of gratitude for their teaching and deference for their counsels. This was particularly his attitude towards Porée, with whom he kept up a correspondence, and to whom he would frequently send early copies of his writings. "Nothing," he wrote of him shortly after his death, "will efface from my heart the memory of Père Porée, who is equally dear to all who have studied under him. Never did a man render study and virtue more attractive. The hours when he was teaching were always delightful hours to us, and I could have wished the same custom to prevail at Paris as at Athens, so that persons of all ages might be present at his lessons. I would certainly have returned often to listen to them myself." Voltaire was an inveterate liar, and it is difficult to distinguish what he said in mockery from what he said in sincerity. But the critics generally have taken these encomiums as expressing at least substantially his real mind. Diderot also has left on record his acknowledgment of Père Porée's teaching talents.

Such acknowledgments are conclusive as far as they go, but it does not follow that Porée's methods were perfect, and Père de la Servièrè subjects them to a sharp and impartial criticism. Here he has a wealth of Père Porée's scholastic compositions, sermons, orations, plays, on which to base his induction. His verdict, which the reader will be prone to share, is that Père Porée was a scholar of undoubted talent and an eminent school-master; but with the characteristic defects as well as the excellencies of one whose entire life is too exclusively devoted to teaching boys.

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#### 4.—MAGISTER ADEST.<sup>1</sup>

*Magister Adest* does not bear an author's name, but comes to us from the Good Shepherd at East Finchley. It is intended as an aid for persons in the habit of meditating on the Life of Our Lord, but is drawn up on a new plan. The meditations follow in the usual order, but instead of points and suggestions for working them out, we are given a picture and a list of texts from the Old Testament. It is an excellent idea. The pictures are to serve as compositions of place and are selected with great care, the object being to furnish such as if studied may be a solid help towards realizing the spirit of the Gospel scene. In the same view there is annexed to each picture a text indicating the idea to be sought in it. The usefulness of the page or two of texts which then follow will be grasped at once by those accustomed to meditate after the method of St. Ignatius. For according to this system, the exercise of the reasoning faculty, which is intended always to be very simple, should lead on to the devout aspirations and affections of the will. And when these are striving to find expression nothing assists them so much as a few words from the Psalms or other books of Scripture. There is, the soul feels, a power in the inspired words which enables them to move the heart as no other words can.

The authoress tells us that her selection, now published for the sake of others, was made gradually for her own personal use during many years. And it may be added that the selection is judiciously made and will serve its intended purpose well. Many, it is true, of these texts she uses in an applied sense, but

<sup>1</sup> *Magister Adest*, or *Who is like unto God?* With a Preface by the Rev. Charles Blount, S.J. London: Kegan Paul.



that is perfectly lawful under the circumstances. The price, which is five shillings, is really very cheap, considering the expensive character of the get up, with tinted inks, marginal notes, border-lines, and underlinings to the emphatic words. These underlinings are somewhat excessive; but that is the only adverse criticism we have to offer. We have no hesitation in saying to the many devout Catholics who make regular meditations, get the book and you will not regret having done so.

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5.—THE LIFE OF OUR LORD.<sup>1</sup>

The York Convent, to which we owe Mother Loyola's books, now furnishes us in Mother Salome with another writer for the young. Her wish is to present the Life of our Lord to child-readers in the form of just such a story as they love to read, and she has certainly succeeded, whilst at the same time producing a book which even adults may read with profit. All is told in a simple style which the young can follow, and yet there is nothing namby-pamby about it. On the other hand, a great deal of careful study lies behind the descriptions of Palestinian topography and scenery, and Jewish manners and customs. Nor does Mother Salome confine herself to the mere surface of her subject. Her object is spiritual, to show her young readers how to study our Lord's Life and draw from it lessons and examples applicable to their own lives. It is the kind of study of the Pattern Life which St. Ignatius recommends in the Spiritual Exercises, and with which the practice of yearly retreats has familiarized the pupils in our schools as well as older persons. What is to be desired in such studies is that the thoughts should be practical and at the same time arise naturally out of the incidents of our Lord's Life, and this requirement the book before us well fulfils. We permit ourselves the following extract, because it sums up so accurately and pithily the teaching of the Beatitudes.

Blessed, that beautiful word! It means sure of salvation, safely happy. Who are these happy ones? Our Lord has told us. The *poor in spirit*, who hold so loosely the goods of this world, that they readily give them up when God or their neighbour asks. The *meek*, the King's own heroes, who bear insult and blows rather than offend

<sup>1</sup> *The Life of our Lord written for little ones.* By Mother Mary Salome, of the Bar Convent, York. London: Burns and Oates.

by an angry glance or word. The *mourners*, whose hearts are sad with sorrow for sin, and who, turning away from earth, look to heaven for comfort. The *hungry and thirsty*, who long for heavenly things as famished children long for food. The *merciful*, who, like their King, "go about doing good." The *clean of heart*, on whom sin cannot settle, whose contrition wipes it away fast, keeping clear the image of God within them. The *peace-makers*, who bring Heaven's message to men. The *persecuted*, so like their crucified Lord, that they receive the blows intended for Him. (pp. 232, 233.)

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#### 6.—THE IMPERIAL AND COLONIAL MAGAZINE.<sup>1</sup>

It was to be expected that the drawing together of the different parts of the Empire which has been an incidental but most important consequence of the present war should suggest the desirability of a magazine which would make it its special office to strengthen the feeling of kinship and solidarity. It is this office that the *Imperial and Colonial Magazine* aspires to supply. The editors hope to induce the mother country to take more interest in what concerns her colonies, and the colonies in what concerns one another and concerns her, and they will endeavour to ventilate all such matters in their pages. They will endeavour also to keep clear of any party allegiance, believing the Empire to be above all parties, and to require the co-operation of them all. As Englishmen we have sympathy with the undertaking, and it seems likely that we may have occasion also to sympathize with it as Catholics. Among the problems on the satisfactory solution of which the welfare and cohesion of the Empire depends are some which intimately concern Catholics, and we understand that the management of this new magazine desires to include them in its programme, and use any influence it may gain for removing causes of division. We may add that the list of those who contribute to the present number or promise future contributions includes many of the chief living authorities on such subjects.

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#### 7.—LES PARIAS DE PARIS; LES DRAMES DE LA MISÈRE.<sup>2</sup>

The Librairie Blériot have brought out an illustrated

<sup>1</sup> *The Imperial and Colonial Magazine*, vol. i. part i. Edited by "Celt" and E. F. Benson. London: Hurst and Blackett.

<sup>2</sup> *Les Parias de Paris; Les Drames de la Misère*. Nombreuses illustrations. Par Raoul de Navery, Librairie Blériot, Henri Gautier, successeur, Quai des Grands Augustins, 55, à Paris.

edition of two of Raoul de Navery's best works, *Les Parias de Paris*, and *Les Drame de la Misère*, which would make an acceptable present to young people, and encourage them to study French. The works of this gifted authoress have something in common with those of Dickens, and the scenes which they portray rather remind the reader of some of his. All her books are thoroughly Catholic in tone, and there is nothing in them to which any parent could object. The romance of French criminal life, the habits of the poor in great cities, the selfishness and worldliness of those above them in the social scale, form vivid contrasts in her pages, side by side with the pure, unselfish, and devoted lives of the many men and women who daily and hourly devote themselves to good works and the brightening of the squalid scenes around them. The various characters of the story, grave, gay, and again grotesque, are sketched with the master hand of one who knows the scenes she is describing, while here and there a bit of exquisite humour lights everything up. We can strongly recommend these works to English families.

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### Literary Record.

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#### I.—BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

IT does not seem so long since we had occasion to review a fourth edition of Mgr. John Vaughan's *Thoughts for all Times*. The fact that a fifth edition so soon follows is proof sufficient that a spiritual book of this kind is appreciated. In the new edition some revisions and alterations have been made.

The Catholic Truth Society sends four tracts for notice. In *The Basilica of San Clemente*, the Bishop of Clifton, with the aid of illustrations, gives an account of the discovery made within the last half-century by Prior Mullooly of the older fourth century Basilica under the present building, as well as of the second century *dominicum* of the Saint and the adjoining Mithraic cave. The account is of much historical interest in itself, and is also a happy illustration, presented in popular form, of the kind of reasoning by which archæological results are established. *Rescue Work*, by Lady Edmund Talbot;

the *Work of the Laity*, by Father John Norris, of the Oratory, and *The Conservative Genius of the Church* are republications of three essays read at the London Catholic Conference last June. They attracted a good deal of attention at the time, and dealing as they do with three very practical and topical subjects, they were well worth reproducing in a more permanent form.

The Catholic Truth Society of Ireland has been in existence only a few months, but it is full of enterprise and good promise, as the list of its publications up to date bears witness, both in their quality and authorship. Four penny tracts, for which Father Matthew Russell is responsible, have been sent to us for notice. The *Amethyst*, a Temperance tract; *Trinity College no place for Catholics*, a collection of opinions by authorities of weight, among whom the late Justice John O'Hagan is the chief; *Reasons for holding the Catholic Faith*, which reprints the reasons given by two well-known and typical Catholic laymen, Frederic Ozanam and Gerald Griffin; and *Aline*, a touching little story of a gentle and heroic life, of which Kathleen O'Meara is the authoress. It was originally published in the *Irish Monthly*. The covers are seriously wanting in style, but the get-up in other respects is good. Our best wishes to the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland.

*Sermons for Children's Masses* (Benziger) will commend itself by its title, for priests and others engaged in the instruction of children are always in search of new ideas for their sermons. The present volume, which is adapted by Dean Ling from the Italian of Frassinetti, follows the usual arrangement according to the Sundays and Festivals. The thoughts are practical and adapted to young minds.

*The Homeletic Monthly and Catechist* is a new periodical published at New York (Benziger). Its programme is to give in monthly instalments a complete set of sermons and a similar set of Sunday School lessons. In the commencing number for October, 1900, there are sermons for each Sunday of November, for All Saints and All Souls, and for the First Friday. Some of the sermons are by the Curé d'Ars.

*His First and Last Appearance* (Benziger) is a new tale for boys by their favourite writer, Father Francis Finn, S.J. Philip Lachance, the young hero of the story, is one of a family of orphans left under the care of an elder sister, who is herself only seventeen. She watches over them devotedly, but would have found it hard to fulfil her trust were it not that Philip, by means

of his beautiful voice, finds out his grandparents. Philip is a taking little man, and there is also a delightful German professor of music. The book is got up more ornately than Father Finn's other volumes, with glazed paper and an embossed cover. It has also some illustrations etched by Charles V. Svendsen. It would make a suitable Christmas present for a boy.

*Old Charlmont's Seed-Bed*, by J. T. Smith, and *The Mysterious Doorway*, by A. T. Sadlier (Benziger), are children's stories, the former for boys, the latter for girls, both full of exciting adventures.

*Her Father's Trust*, by Mary Maher (Burns and Oates), is the story of a brave girl, whose mother is a good Catholic; but father an indifferent one. Despised by him in the days of his prosperity, she becomes eventually the victim of his misdeeds, the effects of which she succeeds in some measure in repairing.

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## II.—MAGAZINES.

### *Some contents of foreign Periodicals :*

LA CIVILTÀ CATTOLICA. (November 3 and 17.)

The Ethics of Prayer for the Dead. An International Tribunal. Art and History at the Paris Exhibition. The Monks of the East before the Council of Chalcedon (421). *De Jesu Christo Redemptore*—text of the Papal Encyclical. The Moral Reformation of Italy. Determinism and Liberty. The Concordat of 1801. Jesus Christ and Buddha. Archæology—early Christian festivals and their Pagan prototypes. Reviews, &c.

ÉTUDES. (November 5 and 20.)

Fra Angelico and the Florentine School. *G. Sortais*. Father Montsabr  on Preaching. *C. Loughaye*. What would Christ do? *H. Bremond*. The Church and the Paris Exhibition. *P. Dudon*. Recent Books on History. *H. Ch rot*. The French Colonies at the Trocad ro. *H. Pr lot*. Science at the Exhibition. *A. Belanger*. The Papal Encyclical, Text. The Struggle for Life—mosquitos and malaria. *H. Martin*. The Boxers in South-East Tch li, Letters from Fathers Marquet and H effel. Reviews, &c.

## STIMMEN AUS MARIA LAACH. (October 22.)

The Education of Women. *V. Cathrein*. The Church and the Churches in Germany—Mixed Marriages. *H. A. Krose*. The leaf of the *Victoria Regia*. *J. Rompel*. The last Veteran of the Catholic Party. *O. Pfulf*. *F. W. Weber*. *W. Kreiten*. Reviews, &c.

## DER KATHOLIK. (November.)

Rome in the first half of the Jubilee Year. *Dr. A. Bellesheim*. The relation of the Three Divine Persons. *G. Pleth*. The Duration of the Public Life. *Dr. E. Nagl*. Mansi's Collection of the Councils. The attempt to recover Saxony to the Catholic Faith in the sixteenth century. *Dr. P. A. Kirsch*. Reviews, &c.

## L'UNIVERSITÉ CATHOLIQUE.

The Supernatural Phenomena of the Present Day. *Abbé Delfour*. A few words on the Peerage of the Restoration. *J. Laurentie*. The Question of the Far East. *F. Gairal*. Commentaries on the Book of Esther. *Baroness de Fontmagne*. How Great Writers correct their work. *Abbé Delmont*. Recent Books on Holy Scripture. *E. Jacquier*.

## LA REVUE GÉNÉRALE. (November.)

Leaves from the History of Workmen's Dwellings. *J. Buse*. Glances at the modern French Theatre. *H. Bordaux*. Out-door Relief in the form of Work—a French experiment. *L. Banneux*. The Munich Catholic Scientific Congress. *J. van den Gheyn*. The Forty-seventh Catholic Assembly at Bonn. *Baron de Trannoy*.







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